

man,
science
and
society

This is a book about the world, about the people who live in it, their society and its laws of development. Some of the chapters in this book deal with capitalism, Soviet society and the socialist world, others with the prospects for peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the two world systems. An elucidation of Marxist-Leninist theory, of its principal problems today, combined with illustrations from socialist and communist construction, should help the reader to a better appreciation of communism and Communists. Further, the reader is introduced to the programme of communist construction in the Soviet Union, shown how Soviet citizens are working and fighting to put it into operation, how, in this process, communist social relations are being formed and how a new communist man is coming into being.

Man, Science and Society



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What Is Marxism-Leninism?

Our age is the Golden Age of rapid and far-reaching transformations in the life of man. This is reflected in the diversity of names bestowed on the 20th century. At the turn of the century, when electricity began to play a major role in industry and the home, people talked of the age of electricity. Physicists then called it the atomic age, mathematicians—the age of computers, chemists—the age of synthetics, astronomers—the space age. . . . In one way or another they were all correct.

With due respect to the stupendous scientific achievements, however, it is not they that determine society's way forward. Science and its practical application ultimately depend on the social system, on who governs society and whose interests lie behind society's development: does society develop in everyone's interests, as under socialism, or in the interests of a handful of wealthy property-owners, as under capitalism?

The history of man has long been a subject of speculative thought, yielding philosophical systems, economic theories and pictures of the ideal social system reflecting popular belief in the coming triumph of justice. Yet, because of the immaturity of social relations and insufficient knowledge about the world, most of these ideas were utopian.

It was only half-way through the last century that conditions matured for the birth of a scientific, communist world outlook. By that time, capitalist development had clearly demonstrated the key role of economics in social life. And together with capitalism appeared the working class, the gravedigger of that exploiting system. It announced its arrival by a series of revolutionary actions like those of the French workers in Lyons, the German weavers in Silesia and the English Chartists. Meanwhile, growth in capitalist production gave an impetus to the natural sciences which by that time had accumulated enough facts to present a coherent picture of the world.

The scene was set for a new, communist philosophy. That the need existed for a new theory is evidenced by the state

of philosophical and political theory in general. About that time, leading thinkers, in giving expression to the demands of practice, had already raised questions which could only be answered by Marxism. The theoretical forerunners of Marxism were the German classical philosophers, the English political economists and the French utopian socialists.

German classical philosophy was headed by Georg Hegel and Ludwig Feuerbach. Hegel's contribution lay in his ideas on development, although he erred in his assertion that it was not nature that develops, but some absolute idea, which is the be-all and end-all of the world. Feuerbach, on the other hand, showed that nature and the world can be explained on their own basis without resorting to any mystical and unscientific concepts of an absolute idea. In his work, religion comes under heavy fire. Yet, his ideas suffered from his insufficient appreciation of the huge significance of the Hegelian theory of development, which, consequently, he was unable to apply to nature and history. Both Hegel and Feuerbach voiced ideas which were to serve as the groundwork for the formation of Marxist philosophy.

In the field of political economy, the forerunners of Marxism were the British economists Adam Smith and David Ricardo. By demonstrating that labour is the source of the wealth created by man, they paved the way for the creation of a science of political economy.

The socialist utopians of the 19th century, Saint-Simon, Fourier and Robert Owen, scathingly criticised the capitalist system and worked out plans for an ideal society free from exploitation. Their theories, however, lacked any indication of the actual means to this end. They naïvely considered that the ideal system could be reached through social enlightenment and the moral reformation of the exploiters. Despite shortcomings, their writings facilitated the birth of a scientific socialist theory.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were not merely the successors to these theorists. They critically reworked their ideological inheritance and created a new theory expressing the vital interests of the proletariat, the most advanced and revolutionary class. The founders of Marxism brought about a revolution in social thought and armed the working people with a powerful ideological weapon for transforming the world.

In pointing the way to society's transformation along communist lines, Marxist theory proceeds from a scientific understanding of the world. One of the key component parts of Marxism, therefore, is *philosophy, the study of the general laws of the development of nature, society and knowledge.*

To understand why one social system changes into another, however, knowledge of these general laws is insufficient. Of all social relations, the economic, or production, relations are the most fundamental. Without understanding their nature it is impossible to know how to reach socialism and communism.

Political economy, the study of production relations, is the second component part of Marxism.

To complete the three component parts we have the *theory of scientific communism.* With Marxist philosophy and Marxist political economy for support, this theory reveals the laws *of the rise and development of communist society.*

Marxist thought is not restricted to philosophy, political economy and the theory of scientific communism. It has revolutionised all branches of knowledge related to society—from history, ethics and aesthetics to language and law. Strictly speaking, all these and many other branches of knowledge only became genuinely scientific when they adopted the Marxist methods of obtaining knowledge.

Hence, *Marxism is a harmonious system of scientific views on the general laws of the development of nature and society, on the triumph of the socialist revolution and on the ways to build socialism and communism.*

When studying Marxist philosophy, political economy or the theory of scientific communism, it should always be remembered that it is an integral system, that is, all component parts are closely interconnected. Among the numerous works of Marx, Engels and Lenin there are none which can be termed purely economic or philosophical. They utilised philosophy as a means of a comprehensive analysis of social relations and then made political conclusions on this basis. Profound study of economics and politics, in turn, provided new and fertile material for philosophical generalisations.

In the past, much thought had been given to creating "finished" theories which, to the minds of their fathers, had to supply a conclusive answer to every major issue. But is it really feasible for any theory to make provision for every

possible twist and turn in life? The world around us is constantly on the move and human knowledge is being enriched all the time. If a theory does not make allowances for new facts and is nothing but a set of entrenched dogmas, it will become divorced from life, useless and even dangerous, since it will no longer render a true picture of reality. That is why theory should rely always on practice. As Goethe once justly noted:

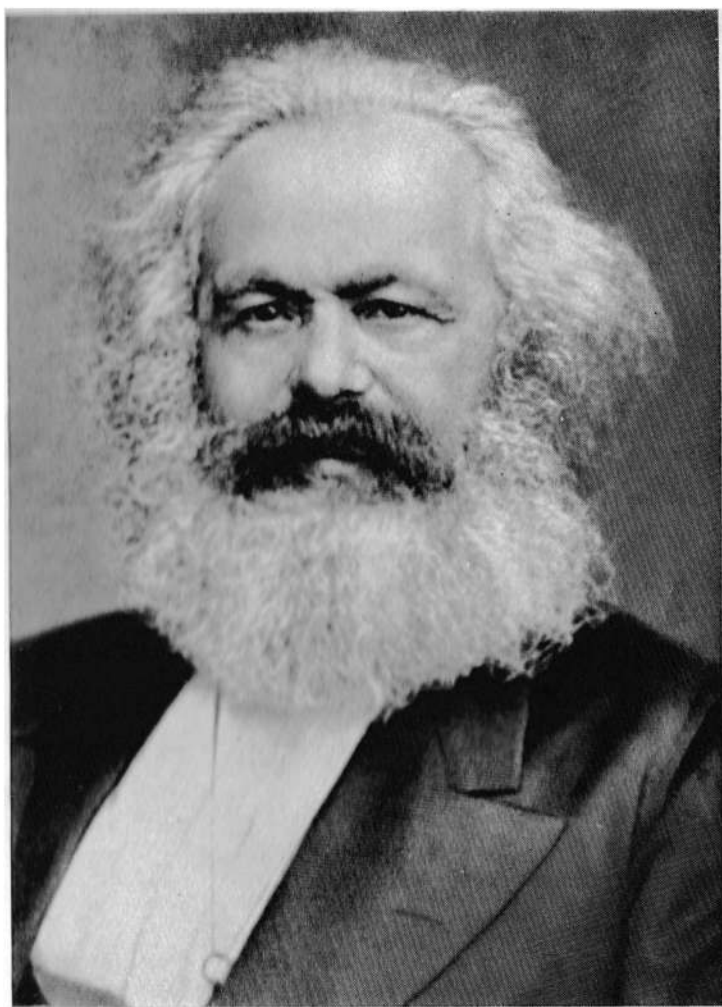
*Theory, my friend, is grey,
But green is the eternal tree of life.*

All attempts to formulate all-embracing, "finished" theories were doomed to failure. The years went by and these theories died with the eras which engendered them and the classes whose interests they represented. All that remained were profound ideas most accurately reflecting reality. These ideas became part of the store of social thought and were adopted by fresh theories expressing the needs of practice.

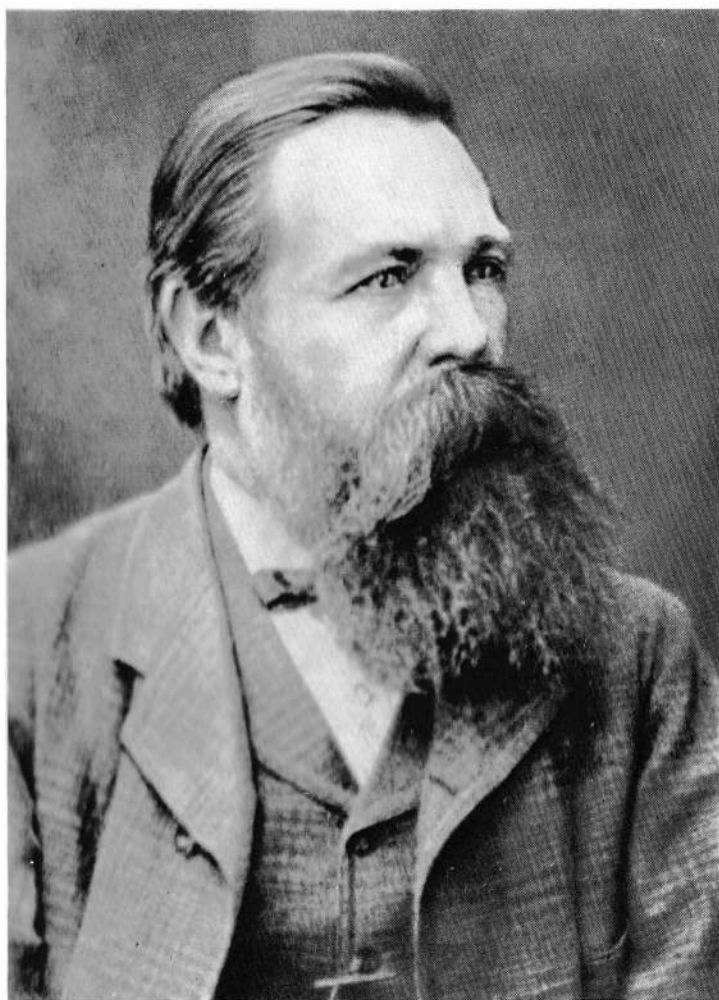
By its very nature, Marxism differs from all previous theories. As Lenin repeatedly stressed, "Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action". The principles of Marxist theory are constantly being enriched by social practice and scientific achievements. Marxism is therefore a creative, developing doctrine.

At the turn of this century, history entered a new era. Socialist revolution was imminent, an inevitability proved by the founders of Marxism. The workers were faced with the task of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. The world revolutionary movement had accumulated new experience, while the turbulent advance of natural science now demanded a philosophical generalisation of new facts and discoveries. In other words, the time was ripe for a creative development of Marxism. This historical role was performed by Vladimir Lenin.

While struggling against dogmatists who regarded Marxism as an ossified doctrine, Lenin provided a thorough interpretation of a new historical epoch and added new ideas to Marxism. He showed imperialism to be the highest stage of capitalism, revealed its laws of development and elaborated the theory of socialist revolution, the strategy and tactics of the international labour movement and the theory about the Party. On the strength of experience of early socialist changes



KARL MARX



FREDERICK ENGELS

in Soviet Russia he formulated a theory on ways of building socialism and communism. He developed all aspects of Marxism and, in doing so, raised it to a new stage. That is why we now talk of *Marxism-Leninism*.

Forty years have passed since Lenin's death. During this time, gigantic changes have taken place and a sharp shift in the balance of forces between socialism and capitalism has occurred. The new situation prevailing today has again necessitated a further development of Marxism-Leninism, a task which is at present being tackled collectively by the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world. In recent years, a particularly big contribution has been made by the plan for communist construction in the Soviet Union adopted at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This new Party Programme signals a fresh stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism and has been hailed by progressives the world over as a present-day Communist Manifesto.

In order to appreciate the paths of society's advance towards communism, which have been mapped out in the C.P.S.U. Programme, it is essential, if only in general outline, to be familiar with the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and economic theory.

PHILOSOPHY AND COGNITION OF THE WORLD

On first contact with the world of knowledge, the word philosophy conjures up something intangible and complex, but alluring, holding out the promise of uncovering the world's hidden secrets. Indeed, philosophy is a most interesting science which teaches man to become aware of and reflect on the world about him. Hence the meaning, "love for wisdom", from the Greek.

What sort of world lies around us? What makes the world go round? How to explain a regular order in nature? How does man fit into the world? How does he get to know reality? Questions like these underlie the core of world outlook, which is an integrated system of views and concepts of the world. They are all answered by philosophy, which generalises achievements made both in the natural and social sciences.

MATTER AND MOTION

WHAT IS MATTER? If we cast a careful glance over objects and phenomena in nature we find the tiniest particles, on the one hand, and vast star formations, on the other, the simplest single-cell organisms and highly developed living beings. Objects differ in size, form, colour, density, structure, composition and a multitude of other properties. Nature is immensely varied and possesses a wide range of different qualities. Can something be found amidst this diversity which is common to all and which unites every thing in the world?

From times immemorial philosophers and naturalists have searched for the fundamental principle behind all objects and phenomena. Some saw it in water: "everything originates in water and everything returns to the same source", said the ancient Greek philosopher Thales. Others saw it in air, fire and earth. Democritus maintained that all objects consisted of infinitely small, indivisible particles or atoms,

that these were "foundation stones" of the universe. Only in the early part of the present century scientists established that the atom has an extremely complex structure. After the atom came the discovery of the electron, proton, neutron, positron and a host of other "elementary" particles. They, too, possess a complex structure, and cannot be termed the most elementary "building materials" from which all objects are made. The world has no "initial foundation stones" to which natural wealth can be attributed.

All objects and phenomena of nature, whatever their complexity or qualities, have an independent existence, or, to put it philosophically, *being*, and are *objects* to human beings, to which their thoughts and activities are directed. They all have one thing in common: they exist independently of whether or what we think of them. By this property Marxist philosophy combines them in the single concept of *matter*.

How do we make sure something exists independent of our consciousness, that it is material? We do it largely by way of our sensations. A nervous person who enters a dark room may have the feeling there is someone else present. On switching on the light he assures himself it was a figment of his imagination. Not everything, of course, can be seen or felt: a radio wave cannot be touched, ultrasonic sounds cannot be picked up by ear, and a magnetic field cannot be located by our sense organs. But they can be located with the aid of instruments, scientific data can prove their existence. Whatever its form, matter can ultimately be ascertained through our sensations.

According to Lenin's definition, *matter is objective reality existing outside our mind and communicated to us by sensation*.

From experience we know that there is no such thing as eternal objects and phenomena. Science tells us that even heavenly bodies that have been around for hundreds of millions of years, in fact, have their beginning and end, they come and go. But *matter as a whole is eternal in time*. After all, when they die or are destroyed, objects do not disappear altogether. The radioactive disintegration of the nuclei of one element leads to the formation of other elements and free particles. The disintegration of molecules of one substance signifies the formation of molecules of other substances. One generation of living organisms is replaced by another, and

even death does not mean the complete disappearance of atoms and molecules of which the organism is composed. Science shows that matter which has gone through all manner of changes is never destroyed. In the same way, mankind's age-old experience proves the impossibility of material objects coming into being out of nothing. This means that matter has always existed and always will do.

Besides being unrestricted in time, matter is also *infinite in space*. Discoveries of natural science are all the while pushing back the boundaries of the known world. Modern telescopes enable us to see stars more than 10,000 million light years away. Translated into miles, this distance makes a 23 figure number. Nowhere has the world any limits.

With every passing year, science is extending our knowledge of the structure of matter. At the beginning of the last century only one type of matter was known—that which had an immutable mass. Now physics has discovered another—the electromagnetic field. At the turn of the century, when it was found that the mass of an electron changes in relation to the speed of motion, some confusion arose among scientists who connected the concept of matter with the constancy of a mass. Making capital out of this, some bourgeois philosophers began to talk of the “disappearance” of matter. Lenin demonstrated that this was unscientific, because it is not matter but the old limits of our knowledge about it that disappear. What was previously thought to be a universal property of all material objects (immutable mass) was, in fact, not so. A new property was revealed of rapidly moving material particles (change in mass depends on speed of motion). The conclusion is not to confuse certain forms of matter, its concrete properties, with matter itself.

In their research into the boundless expanses of the universe and the most intricate intranuclear processes, scientists may unearth new types of matter. Yet, however striking their properties, the irrefutable fact will remain that they prevail as objective reality, communicated to us by our sensations.

MOTION AS THE FORM OF EXISTENCE OF MATTER.
When we take a closer look at the multifarious phenomena of nature we observe that objects are in constant motion and change. Try to find any object which is absolutely stationary. It is impossible. It is true that objects can exist in a state of

rest. But this rest is *relative*. Objects can be in a state of rest only in relation to some sort of system of co-ordinates, conditionally taken as stationary. For example, a stone on a road is stationary in relation to the earth. But the two together make a revolution around the earth's axis every twenty-four hours, and around the sun once a year. The sun moves in our galaxy, and the galaxy describes a complicated trajectory through the other galaxies.

Even if we take the simplest mechanical form of motion, we cannot find any objects that are absolutely stationary. And within every object there are even more intricate physical and chemical changes: movement of atoms, molecules and elementary particles. In living nature and society, the movement is still more intricate. In human and animal organisms extremely involved physiological processes are at work. As living nature develops, new species replace the old ones. Human history has witnessed the constant development and renewal of all aspects of social life: the economic, political, cultural, etc. Man's cognitive mental activity has never stood still, not even for a single day. The development of social relationships has wrought a transformation in man, in his views, ideals, morals and behaviour.

The material world appears to us as a grandiose picture of overall movement and change, where there is no place for anything immutable or given once and for all. As Heraclitus long ago noted: "Everything in the world is on the move."

The overall nature of motion prompts the thought that matter and motion are interconnected, inseparable in fact. Indeed, modern science has demonstrated that matter exists only in motion. If the impossible were suddenly to happen and all processes were to come to halt, this would be equivalent to the complete disappearance of the world itself, of objective reality, of matter.

What is the nucleus of an atom? It is a mixture of elementary particles, nucleons, bound together by nuclear forces which arise in the process of their movement. If, suddenly, this movement were to stop, the atom's nucleus would disintegrate and the atom would simply cease to exist. Without motion there could be no such thing as an electro-magnetic field. Light too is a stream of photons, particles existing only in motion. Whatever material objects and phenomena we take, we come to the same conclusion: to exist means to be

in motion. *Motion, understood as overall change, as an eternal process of renewal, is a fundamental, inalienable property of matter, universal form of its existence.*

THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT AND ITS LAWS

SOURCE OF MOTION. When observing motion in nature and society it is natural to ask whence it comes. The simplest notion is that the world only needed a push to set things going. But then we are confronted by the problem of who or what gave the initial push to start things off. Some people answer that "in the beginning" all matter was dead; a supernatural force then came along and provided the initial key to life. This is the religious point of view, with God as the creator.

An external spur may certainly occur in nature but it can merely transfer motion from one body to another, without being its source. Hence the source of motion must be sought inside material phenomena.

Let us recall the principle of jet propulsion. As a result of combustion gas is ejected from a nozzle with tremendous force and acts on a rocket in the opposite direction. As we see, the presence of *opposing forces* is thus essential for the rocket's take-off. In this case the clash or opposition of forces was engineered by man. What, then, happens in nature?

All material objects contain opposites. If some objects appear to be absolutely uniform, it is only because opposing elements or tendencies are from time to time hidden from view. We only have to delve inside these objects immediately to observe opposing principles.

Any simple mechanical movement is impossible without opposing forces: action and counteraction, attraction and repulsion, centrifugal and centripetal forces. The same applies to the most complex physical forms of movement where at every step we come up against opposites: positive and negative electric charges, electric and magnetic fields, substances and fields. Every atom consists of opposites: a positively charged nucleus and a negatively charged electron shell. But the nucleus of the atom is a combination of opposing particles; tremendous force is required to split them.

Let us turn to living nature. In a living organism a constant

struggle of conflicting processes takes place: some substances are consumed while others are excreted, some are created and others destroyed, some assimilated, others dissimilated. Opposing forces also exist in society: here stand the advanced and revolutionary, there, the outworn and conservative forces.

Opposites are not cut off from one another. On the contrary, they exist in the same phenomena and act together, they cannot live without each other. If we try to separate one opposite from another, assimilation from dissimilation, for example, we shall kill the organism. While being constantly on the move, any peace or agreement between them is out of the question, precisely because they are opposites. Hence the constant conflict, the battle of opposing forces, the *contradiction* between them.

What part do contradictions play in development? Let us look into this by way of example of the influence of heredity and the variability of living organisms. All plants and animals can reproduce themselves, pass on traits from one generation to the next. Yet the condition of life of the new generation is never exactly the same as that of the old. Variability, the appearance with the new generation of certain new features, different to their parents, are caused by the action of the changed environment. Heredity and variability are opposites, contradiction constantly arising between them. Variability leads to a conflict with heredity, destructs its conservatism, adds something new. Heredity again strengthens the acquired useful features and transfers them to the next generation. As a result, new species of animals and plants appear, and development takes place. The contradiction between heredity and variability is thus one of the sources of development of living nature.

Being a unity of opposites, material objects can never exist in a state of absolute rest, the struggle of opposites keeps them on the move, not allowing them to ossify. This struggle is thus the source of development of all phenomena.

QUANTITY INTO QUALITY. No matter what object we take, it is bound to possess a definite *quality* distinguishing it from other objects, and a definite *quantity*.

Take an ordinary aluminium disc. The specific weight of aluminium is 2.7, its atomic weight 27, nuclear charge 13, melting point 950°C. These are its quantitative characteristics. In addition, aluminium is a greyish-white metal, malleable,

a good conductor of heat and electricity, trivalent in stable compounds, close to alkali metals in activity, acidises readily, etc. These are its qualitative properties. The same description could be made of any element, substance or object.

It is easy to notice that quality and quantity are closely connected.

Chemistry is a field where the connection between quantity and quality is particularly noticeable. Engels once termed chemistry the science of qualitative changes in objects, taking place under the influence of changes in the quantitative composition. Indeed, oxygen and ozone only differ in a quantitative sense as far as their chemical composition is concerned. Meanwhile, these are different substances with different qualities. The chemical compounds in the methane homologous series only differ by their number of $-CH_2$ groups. To what extent this affects their quality can be judged by the fact that the first four compounds in the series, from CH_4 to C_4H_{10} , are gases while the following eleven compounds are solids.

Mendeleyev's Periodic Table of the Elements is based on the relation between the properties of chemical elements and their atomic weights, or to be more exact, as scientists have recently shown, on the magnitude of the nuclear charge of the atom. If this charge is increased by one unit, the change in quantity causes a passage to a new quality.

It may appear that by changing the quantitative aspect of an object we do not essentially affect its quality. Thus, in heating a hard substance a few degrees, we do not change its overall state. But if we raise the temperature to melting point, the hard substance will become liquid, and if we continue heating to boiling point, the liquid turns to gas. Quantitative changes lead to qualitative changes.

This transformation can be observed in the process of radioactive disintegration of matter. The liberation of a certain amount of energy affects the state of the nucleus of the atom, and atoms of one element turn into atoms of another. Hence, when radium disintegrates, helium and radon are formed. The absorption of energy by atomic nuclei eventually leads to qualitative changes, too.

Every chemical element has several isotopes which possess the same charge, occupy the same place in the Periodic Table and differ from one another quantitatively—by atomic weight,

or rather by the number of neutrons in the nucleus of the atom. If a neutron is added to an isotope of the slightest atomic weight, it rises by one unit, but there will be no deep-going qualitative changes; the basic properties of the chemical element will remain the same. If we continue to add one neutron at a time to the nucleus of the atom, we shall finally end up with the heaviest isotope. What will happen if we add one more neutron? A qualitative change will take place: one of the neutrons of the nucleus will turn into a proton with isolation of the electron, the nuclear charge will increase by one unit, and there will be a change to a new element, the next one along in the Periodic Table. For example, when neutrons bombard the nuclei of the uranium isotope (Uranium-238), the isotope is transformed into neptunium, and the latter, in turn, into plutonium.

Similarly, the passage of quantitative into qualitative changes can be traced in plants. As they grow, there are clearly definable qualitative stages (for instance, grain goes through the germination and sprouting stages). The transition from one stage to the next depends on the presence of a certain amount of warmth, light and moisture. Here, too, quantitative changes prepare the qualitative changes.

In society, the action of this law can be illustrated by the example of a labour co-operative. When working men group together, the results of their collective labour far exceed the sum total of their individual powers and abilities. Another vivid example of the transition to a new quality in social development is social revolutions, conditions for which steadily mature within society itself.

Thus we see that quantitative changes lead to qualitative changes. Within certain limits these changes appear not to affect an object's quality. Once outside these limits, the slightest quantitative change leads to a qualitative change; there is a leap from one quality to another. Now we understand how, in the process of overall movement and changes in matter, its development takes place and new phenomena arise.

Imagine what would happen if quantitative changes did not lead to qualitative changes. Academician V. L. Komarov has written: "If life on earth, once begun, grew only in quantity, the earth's surface would be covered with a thick layer of jelly, similar to that which bacteria, ameba and

other related organisms produce now. But quantity has the property of turning into quality. Therefore masses of substances which exist in various relationships (chemical, physical, etc.) with the environment, acquire different qualities, or become differentiated. A similar mass becomes dissimilar."

The movement and change of matter are not simply a quantitative exchange of energy between bodies, not simple growth, but an eternal process of renewal of the material world, the transition of quantitative into qualitative changes, leaps, decay of the old and birth of the new.

LOWER TO HIGHER, SIMPLE TO COMPLEX. Does the development of nature and society have any particular direction or do they develop in a circle, endlessly treading one and the same path?

Even without scientific confirmation, it is possible to assert from everyday experience that the material world is progressing, is moving forward. This is particularly evident from the development of living nature. Lower, simple, inorganic forms are able to develop into higher, more complex, organic forms. Life has advanced a long way from amorphous living matter and the most elementary, single-cell organisms to human beings. Every stage in this ascent somehow negated the one before, and was, in turn, negated by the one to follow. There occurred what we call *negation of the negation*.

In the theory of development, negation does not mean the complete destruction of the old. In the first place, elementary phenomena often continue to prevail alongside new, more complex phenomena. Again an example from living nature: the simplest forms exist together with highly developed animals. In the second place, and this is the main thing, in the very process of advance the new retains all positive and valuable features of the old.

Every new species of plant or animal acquires useful properties accumulated by its predecessors in the evolutionary process.

Every new social system arises not from scratch but on the basis of material and spiritual wealth created in previous epochs, which it then assimilates.

In the early years of Soviet power there were some people—ultra-revolutionaries as they were known—who called for the discarding of all the old culture on the grounds that it was bourgeois. They proposed the establishment of a "proletarian

culture" completely different from anything that had gone before. Some went as far as saying that Shakespeare and Pushkin should be thrown overboard. Lenin rightly pointed out that the workers should preserve and continue the progressive democratic traditions of the culture of the past. He went on to assert that socialist culture could not be created from scratch and that to develop properly it would have to be enriched by knowledge of all those cultural riches already accumulated by mankind.

Hence, negation signifies a *link* or *continuity in development*. What arises as a result of negation preserves all that is worthwhile from the previous stage, while possessing something new, richer in content. Nature, society and knowledge, therefore, advance rather than mark time.

Since all that is worthwhile in the lower stages of development is retained in the higher stages, certain features of past development may be repeated. What takes place is some sort of return to the past, but on a higher rung of the progress ladder. Here is an example. In early primitive society common ownership of the means of production prevailed. The negation of this then took place. Private ownership and exploitation came into being. With the socialist revolution, private ownership was also negated. Once more, common ownership of the means of production was established, but this time on a much higher plane.

This excursion into history shows that progressive development is not advance along a straight line, but an intricate cyclical process, more like movement *along a spiral*.

Development is a chain of negations, through which everything passes from lower to higher, from the simple to the complex. These are the more general concepts of the motion and development of the material world.

UNIVERSAL CONNECTION OF PHENOMENA. When we looked at the process of development we saw that there is a definite connection between the opposing aspects of an object, between the quantitative and qualitative changes, the lower and higher stages of development. Motion and development are impossible without *interaction* of opposing aspects and phenomena, without *interaction* with the surroundings.

Look closely at life around you and you will observe that all phenomena are mutually connected and dependent on one another. Take an ordinary leaf from the garden. It is

truly a chemical wonder. With the help of the sun's energy carbon dioxide is turned into oxygen, without which neither humans nor animals could exist. The Russian naturalist Klimenty Timiryazev called plant life the mediator between heaven and earth, the true Prometheus, stealing fire from the heavens. Whence comes the radiant energy giving life to plants? It comes from deep-going nuclear reactions inside the sun. But this is far from the whole story. For a plant to grow it needs soil, moisture and certain climatic conditions. So, when we talk about general connections, we must include atmospheric phenomena. It would require many volumes to follow up a plant's connections with the rest of the world. Even so, we would never come to an end, since interconnections in nature are infinite.

Thousands of millions of threads link every object to the rest of the world, thus composing an overall, single process of universal connections and interaction of things.

The connections between things in the material world are extremely diverse.

Anyone attempting to study all the connections between objects without any particular choice, would simply wallow in the maze of isolated and accidental facts which give nothing or very little for an understanding of the general picture. From the whole maze of connections one must select the most essential and indispensable. In science these are called laws.

If we study closely any department of life we discover in its development a certain natural order, regularity, consistency, system.

In the late 17th and early 18th centuries scientists thought there was no order in nature. By the mid-18th century, however, the Swedish botanist Karl von Linné established that there was a certain order amidst the multiplicity of phenomena in living nature. In the 19th century Charles Darwin explained this in his famous theory of evolution of the species. Mendeleyev's Periodic Table of the Elements showed the strict order prevailing in the mass of chemical elements. Human history also has its objective order and consistency.

Any department of life has its profound objective connections determining the character and direction of its

development, enabling us to comprehend it as a single whole. These connections are called *laws*.

We all know many laws of nature uncovered by scientists: Newton's law, Boyle's law, the law of gravity, the laws of reflection and refraction of light, Avogadro's law, etc. Let us now attempt to explain what we mean by law.

Archimedes's principle states that when a body is partly or completely immersed in a fluid the apparent loss of weight is equal to the weight of the fluid displaced. First of all, it is evident that the principle expresses the relation or connection between objects (between a body immersed in a fluid and the fluid itself). This connection is *objective*. Whether we like it or not we have to take it into consideration. We do so, for example, when we attach a weight to a fishing line. It is also apparent that this principle expresses a *universal* connection, not a partial one between an individual body and an individual fluid. The immersion of any body in any fluid produces the same result. This connection is therefore *essential* and *indispensable* since it reveals very important relationships between bodies and fluids every time there is such interaction. Lastly, no matter how many times we conduct the experiment, the principle is reaffirmed every time. This means it expresses a *stable* and *repetitive* connection among phenomena.

Now we can formulate what we understand by a law. It is an *objective, universal and essential connection among phenomena and objects, and is conspicuous for its stability and constancy*.

No science can get by without laws. Laws are inherent in every field of activity science studies.

DIALECTICS IS THE THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT. Philosophy too has its laws. We read above of the unity and struggle of opposites, the transition of quantitative into qualitative changes, negation of the negation. These are the *laws of dialectics*. They embrace the most general features of any motion and development irrespective of the object or field of activity involved. These laws apply, too, to the development of nature, society, science, cognition and thinking.

What is dialectics? Now, with an idea of universal connection, development of material phenomena and its laws, we can define this concept.

Dialectics is the theory of the universal connection of things and their development.

The word "dialectics" comes from the Greek and originally meant the art of discussion, skill in exposing contradictions in an opponent's argument. Although the word is used in a much wider sense today, dialectics is in essence investigation of contradictions in life. After all, contradictions are the source, the internal motive force of all development.

Lenin once described the basic aspects of dialectics as "Development that seemingly repeats the stages already passed, but repeats them in a different way, on a higher basis ('negation of the negation'), development, so to speak, along a spiral, not a straight line,—development by leaps, catastrophes, revolution—'breaks in continuity'; the transformation of quantity into quality;—the inner impulses to development imparted by the contradiction and conflict of various forces and tendencies acting on a given body, or within a given phenomenon, or within a given society;—the interdependence and the closest, indissoluble connection of *all* aspects of every phenomenon (while history constantly discloses ever new aspects), a connection that provides a uniform, law-governed, universal process of motion—such are some of the features of dialectics as a doctrine of development."

Dealing with the universal connections of things and their development, dialectics is a *scientific method for understanding the world*. Indeed, if we are certain that all objects are interconnected and are constantly developing, we should relate this to all objects. By looking at objects in their interconnection and development, dialectics gives a more profound insight into reality.

Modern science shows us plainly enough that the bounds of nature and society are relative and mobile. New discoveries often do not tally with the usual, generally accepted concepts, they require a fresh, creative approach, elaboration of new ideas and theories. Take, for instance, the modern theory of elementary particles or the theory of relativity. Could we have understood them without reappraising the old positions, without breaking away from the principles of classical mechanics of the 19th century?

Dialectics is contrary to one-sided and ossified thinking, contrary to dogmatism. It teaches us not to stand helpless before contradictions, but to study nature, to search out new

approaches, new, more profound and complete explanations of the interconnections in nature and society.

It is all the more essential to use a dialectical method of thinking, since dialectics applies not only to the outer world, but also to human thinking, to the process of cognising the world. But before we turn to this question, we must delve into consciousness, understand the relationship between the material and spiritual worlds.

CONSCIOUSNESS IS A PROPERTY OF HIGHLY ORGANISED MATTER

NO CONSCIOUSNESS WITHOUT MATTER. We know we are living in a material world. What place, then, does consciousness—human thoughts and feelings—have in it? Can we not class thoughts and feelings as a special type of matter?

If we were to do so, we should be at loggerheads with science. Material objects possess mechanical, physical and chemical properties. Sensations and thoughts have no such properties. They exist in our heads as ideal images reflecting objects of the external world and their interconnection.

At the same time, both our own experience and science go to show that consciousness cannot exist without matter. No one has ever experienced sensations out of nothing or come across conceptions which have arisen by themselves. Consciousness can only exist where there is a human brain as the thinking organ. Any harm to the brain has a detrimental effect on consciousness. The effect on the brain of aminazine or reserpine helps to overcome a feeling of alarm, sickness and insecurity. Other drugs act in just the opposite way—increasing fear and even producing hallucinations. This only goes to prove that consciousness is a property of highly organised matter—the human brain. What kind of property is it?

The word “consciousness” itself suggests the idea that it helps us to learn about the world, to become aware of what is going on around us. It follows that consciousness not only presupposes a brain, but also material objects acting on a brain.

How does the science of physiology, or higher nervous activity, explain the origin of sensations? A certain external

factor (for example, a ray of light reflected from an object) acts on the sense organs (the eyes in this case). Energy from external irritation is turned into nervous excitation, and then transformed into sensation: the object's image forms in the consciousness.

Let us for a minute imagine a brain cut off from all signals from the outside world. No matter how highly developed it is, it cannot form a single sensation or thought. Such a brain, of course, does not exist. But there are times when a brain's contact with the outside world may be impeded. This happens to the blind and deaf, and people who have virtually lost their sense of touch. Most of the time their consciousness is inactive.

To some extent the brain may be likened to a fast-moving film, on which pictures of reality are reflected. If something obstructs the camera lens the film will remain empty: no pictures will be imprinted on it. Of course, this example should not be taken too far. Reflection of objects on a camera film is produced according to laws of physics and chemistry. Reflection of reality in the human brain is an infinitely more involved physiological and social process.

Consciousness, therefore, is not simply a property of the brain, but one which interacts with the material world. *Consciousness is the ability of highly organised matter to reflect the outside world in ideal images*, thanks to which human beings get to know the world around them and its laws, and set about their practical activity in a purposeful way.

HOW MAN GETS TO KNOW THE WORLD. Cognition is not a simple act of mirroring the world in the human brain. Just as in matter's development, contradictions are present, quantitative bring about qualitative changes and the negation of the negation takes place. Cognition is an intricate process of movement of thought from ignorance to knowledge, from knowledge which is incomplete and imprecise to knowledge more complete and exact. Since the world is infinite, cognition, too, knows no bounds.

In olden days men knew nothing about the nature of electricity. A thunderstorm would evoke fear. It was a sign the gods were in a rage. In Greek mythology, Zeus the Thunderer cast thunder and lightning on his foes. Gradually the facts about electricity accumulated. Man learned that some bodies were electrified by friction, he discovered the laws of

interaction between electric charges. Errors, however, were bound to occur: at one time electricity was explained as movement of weightless "electric liquid". By the beginning of last century enough facts had accumulated to discover the basic principles of electricity. People learned how to transform mechanical and thermal energy into electricity, and vice versa. The first electric power stations and machines were constructed. Like steam before it, electricity was put to the service of man. But things did not stop here. In the late 19th century the Scottish physicist James Maxwell developed the theory of the electro-magnetic field which covered isolated spheres of electricity, magnetism and optics.

Human cognition advances from observation, sensory perception, or, as the philosophers say, from living contemplation, to theoretical study, discovery of laws, and then to their practical application. This is the dialectical path of knowing the truth, of knowing objective reality.

We get to know the world mainly through our organs of sight, hearing and touch. They are something like channels through which we receive information about the material world.

How can we be sure that our senses give us correct information about the world around us? Is there no distortion during transmission? We are certain the sensory images are true because we are continually checking them by *practice*.

Just imagine what confusion there would be if people's sensations and perceptions did not correctly reflect the properties of objects. People simply would not be able to make head or tail of life around them. There are, of course, times when it seems our senses deceive us. When we dip a pencil halfway in water, for instance, it appears to be bent. This apparent deception, however, also reflects the actual properties of material phenomena: the refraction of light rays with the change to a denser medium. The senses of normal people reflect objects correctly. The sense organs themselves have evolved in the long process of evolutionary development as a means of orientation, a means of better adapting the organism to its environment.

Mere contemplation of an object does not give any insight into the inner laws of its development. If we just look at a tree top, touch its branches or listen to the leaves rustle, we cannot yet comprehend the innermost processes taking

place in the green leaf under the influence of the sun's rays. And it is not a matter of simply not being able to see these processes taking place. Even if we put the leaf under a microscope, although we get a view of the leaf's inner life, we are unable to comprehend it fully, since we are restricted to a single observation. What do we mean by comprehension? We mean to discover laws, to take from the sum total of complex interactions the essential connections (in this case, the principles of photosynthesis). This is not a job for the senses because sensory images make no distinction between essential and inessential properties.

In order to establish the laws of a phenomenon's development we have to interpret and generalise the information obtained with the help of our senses. At this point we must resort to *abstract thinking*, or *logical cognition*. Scientific abstractions are created on the basis of sensory cognition. These are concepts which express the essential connections of reality.

Physics uses concepts like velocity, mass, momentum and energy. These are all scientific abstractions. No velocity, energy, nor mass can be found in nature in a pure form. There are only material bodies which move faster or slower, act on other bodies to a greater or lesser degree. Or take the concept of valency in chemistry or heredity in biology. We can observe that atoms of different elements combine in definite proportions, and that living organisms transmit certain traits from one generation to another. There is, however, no valency or heredity as such in a pure form. The same applies to philosophical concepts such as matter, motion and law. When they work out scientific concepts and discover laws, scientists mentally separate or abstract the essential properties and relationships of material bodies from the objects themselves. Hence the name *abstract thinking*.

However paradoxical it may seem, scientific abstraction enables us to understand reality more deeply. Once we have abstracted ourselves from the inessential features and properties of individual objects, we are in a position to comprehend their *essence*. This assists us to find our way in the whole maze of phenomena and to reveal the laws governing them.

When we speak of Boyle's law, for example, we abstract ourselves from the specific features of a particular gas or

canister containing the gas, etc. But we uncover the very important relationship between pressure and volume of the gas allowing us to obtain a deeper understanding of properties of gases.

Abstract thinking is closely connected with language. When we want to express a thought, we resort to words. We can, of course, think without uttering a sound. Nevertheless, even if they do, people envelop their thoughts in a verbal shell as if they talk to themselves. Why does this happen?

Abstract thinking is peculiar to human beings alone. It arose in the course of their common labour and, from the very start, was what may be termed a social product. As they work people find it necessary to harmonise their efforts, exchange experience and know-how. Out of this necessity, articulate speech is born. Language comes into being as a means of intercourse and consolidation in words of knowledge about the environment, which people acquire as they work.

As we sit in a room we may read in a book or hear the word "fire". Although there may be no fire or heat around us which might directly produce the image of a fire in our consciousness, we nevertheless know quite clearly what this means. How do we explain the effect of a word on our hearing or sight so that it produces in our consciousness a fully defined thought? The reason is that people have often over a long period of time come up against a fire in their daily life, they have singled out the general characteristics of this phenomenon, have elaborated its concept and linked it with the word "fire". When studying language we thereby master the knowledge accumulated by many generations before us. Every word not only has a sound, therefore, but a definite meaning which we involuntarily grasp when we hear the word.

Language is a valuable means of preserving, transmitting and supplementing the treasure-house of human wisdom. Without language none of us could read books, go to school, enrich our world with the wealth amassed by mankind over the ages. We would not have had the means for securing the stability and continuity of cognitive activity. Our minds would differ little from the psyche of highly organised animals.

From this it is clear that anyone who has been isolated from people all his life and has not uttered a single word

would not be capable of developing abstract thinking. There was an example of this in India a few years ago when a young girl was found who had been carried off by a she-wolf shortly after birth. For a number of years the girl had lived among wolves. Naturally, when found, she could not talk and was completely incapable of human thinking.

Abstract thinking is a powerful means of cognition. Only on this basis could there arise a science which has explained everything man did not understand and has discovered the laws of development of nature and society.

COGNITION AND PRACTICE. Abstract thinking, however, does not complete the process of cognition. To be sure that our knowledge is true we need criteria to affirm its correctness.

We come across two people engaged in a violent argument about something. Both are convinced they are right. Both think their opinion is backed by truth. Who is to be the judge? Where are we to find the "litmus paper" to give a near-perfect distinction of truth from falsehood? When scientists fail to agree they turn to tests.

If, on the basis of theoretical reasoning, a scientist asserts that the alloying of certain metals will have such-and-such properties, his conclusions can be easily tested in a laboratory. If the alloying has the properties predicted, the scientist will be proved right. If not, he is wrong. The most reliable *criterion of truth is social practice*, i.e.; people's activities in transforming their surroundings. Of these activities the most important is material, production activity.

Practice serves as a criterion of truth not only in natural science but in the social sciences as well. History has known more than a few social and political savants whose work has not stood the test of time. Marxist theory alone, however, has been borne out by the whole practice of social development, the international revolutionary movement and the building of socialism and communism.

Yet, practice is not only the criterion of truth. It is also the starting point of cognition. The need to understand reality was born of man's practical requirements. Then, as now, practice sets cognition certain tasks. Engels once said that when society is faced with a technological demand, science is given a greater boost than it can get from a dozen universities. The power of the human mind is mainly directed to problems born of practical needs.

Cognition itself cannot exist in isolation from practice. Imagine we merely observe the world around us and do nothing to interfere in its development. We would not be able to understand the laws of development of material phenomena. We cannot know the contents of a nut without shelling it. Cognition of internal laws of things demands that we be able to look at them from the inside. This is only possible in practical activity.

That is why experimentation plays such a great part in scientific research. Study of elementary particles or the structure of the atom is unthinkable without a vast amount of experimental work. High-powered proton synchrotrons and other up-to-date equipment are products of practice, modern industry.

Social science also develops on the basis of practice. Marxism came into being as generalisation of the practice of the workers' revolutionary struggle.

Hence, practice plays a primary role in cognition, serving as its *foundation*. Practice provides the proof of people's ability to fully comprehend the world, to discover the laws of its development. Since matter is infinite and inexhaustible, there will always be phenomena which remain to be known. But no phenomena are unknowable. We know today what was unknown yesterday. And what our scientists rack their brains over today will tomorrow be common knowledge thanks to new discoveries.

Practice itself does not stand still, it is not given once and for all. Only a few years ago, people could not pierce the earth's atmosphere. Today spaceships and sputniks traverse the expanses of outer space. As practice develops, new prospects appear for extending our knowledge of the world.

Reality firmly rejects *relativism* and *dogmatism* in the theory of knowledge.

Relativists assert that in our knowledge of the world everything is relative, nothing is stable or constant. What yesterday appeared to be true, is today false. Relativism is counter to reality. If science has discovered deep-going laws of certain phenomena and they are borne out by practice, this means they are correct and will remain so as long as the phenomena exist.

Dogmatists, on the other hand, maintain that our knowledge is immutable. If a law is discovered, dogmatists regard

it as applicable always, for all situations. Dogmatism is also counter to reality. It does not take into consideration that our knowledge of phenomena will never exhaust their wealth. Along with the development of practice, knowledge also develops.

The principles of classical mechanics discovered by Newton are truths that have been many times borne out by practice. But this century, when man discovered speeds approaching the speed of light, it was found that Newton's principles were only part of more general laws discovered by Albert Einstein. The laws of classical mechanics were not rendered false after this; as before they correctly reflect the mechanical interaction of bodies at comparatively low speeds. Today, however, our knowledge has been extended to include the general principles of interaction of bodies at any velocity.

This example demonstrates that all scientific knowledge always has a stable nucleus which remains true. But this nucleus does not remain unchanged: it is constantly developing and being broadened in the process of development of cognition.

The unity of theory and practice is the key to understanding the tremendous part consciousness has to play in transforming the world. Consciousness is continually probing the world and changing it by way of human practical activity.

If we look around us we see things that are not the product of human activity inspired by human consciousness. Factories, mines, the most intricate machinery are all man-made from natural materials; everything bears the stamp of conscious human needs. Even nature herself—forests, meadows, fields, the earth's atmosphere—is influenced by social activity. Intelligence and the ultimate reason for the birth of consciousness actually consist in changing reality in the direction necessary to man. This is particularly apparent in social life.

MATERIALISM AND IDEALISM

We now have a general idea of the Marxist approach to the world and its cognition. Now we shall see how this fits in with other philosophies and what relation it has to the class struggle and politics.

TWO BASIC TRENDS IN PHILOSOPHY. From all that has been mentioned above, it is clear that the basic feature of Marxism is the elucidation of the world as it is without any outside admixture or fanciful ideas. Nature and being* are taken as they are in reality. *Materialism* is the doctrine which considers the world as a material whole and explains that everything originates from matter. Marxist philosophy is the highest form of materialism.

Materialism has a long history. As a philosophy it arose in ancient times. But the materialism of those days was rather primitive in that it had no exact sciences to rest on. In the 17th and 18th centuries, a new form of materialism came into being which strove to embrace all knowledge and provide science with a method for investigating nature. The most mature of all sciences at that time was mechanics. This explains why materialism, too, was *mechanistic*. Essentially, all laws of the world were reduced to the principles of mechanics. The low level of scientific knowledge also caused this materialism to be *metaphysical*, since it was incapable of consistently upholding the idea of the world's development and of the interrelation of all its phenomena. Finally, it was *contemplative*, since its proponents did not understand the role of human practical activity in revolutionising the world.

Marxism sees the world in constant motion and development, where all things are interrelated and interact on one another. Materialism in Marxist philosophy is therefore bound up with dialectics. Hence the name *dialectical materialism*.

It does not take much reflection to realise whose interests are served by materialism. Materialist philosophy is intimately bound up with natural history and prompts people to study nature. It serves those classes which want a scientific knowledge of the world for use in the interests of progress. Materialism is the philosophy of the advanced, progressive classes.

The most progressive and advanced class in modern society is the working class. A lucid scientific outlook is vital to its struggle against capitalism and for communist construc-

* The philosophical term used to denote nature, matter, the external world in contrast to consciousness or thought.

tion. Thus, dialectical materialism is the philosophical basis of the world outlook of the working class.

Materialism is the progressive trend in philosophy as opposed to *idealism*, which we shall now examine.

Idealists consider the spirit or idea to be the fundamental source of origin of the world. At variance with materialists, they categorically refuse to explain nature, matter, being as they actually are. The creators of nature and matter, according to idealists, are consciousness, mind, or a god.

Idealism can be classified into two basic trends: the subjective and the objective. Subjective idealists consider all objects and phenomena of the outside world to be products of the human mind. Their doctrine may be expressed thus: "The whole world is a complex of my sensations."

Objective idealists maintain that the material world is a product of some universal idea existing somewhere outside of the human mind.

Idealism is refuted by every single fact of natural science and human practice.

Modern natural history proves that the earth, the moon and the sun were in existence long before the appearance of man or anything else endowed with mental faculties. Is not this a convincing enough proof of the independence of the outside world of human consciousness?

Notions about a universal idea or a Creator also fly in the face of natural history. Science has proved that consciousness is a product of highly developed matter—the brain. There can be no world consciousness existing in isolation from highly developed matter. Even if we were to allow that it existed, how could it create the world out of nothing? This again contradicts all scientific laws. Man has begun his exploration of outer space and is probing the secrets of the microworld, but he has nowhere come across any traces of a universal idea in action. All phenomena can be explained by natural causes.

Napoleon was once talking to the French astronomer Laplace. He asked why none of his works made a mention of God. Laplace answered that he had no need for that hypothesis. Science has made enormous progress since then and we can echo these words by saying mankind has no need of gods to explain the world.

Why, then, does idealism exist and influence the thinking of so many people? It can even number scientists among its proponents. The fact is that idealism has its roots in social grounds as well as in human consciousness.

Lenin once wrote that human consciousness is like a tree which can produce barren flowers as well as fruit. We have already remarked that cognition is an extremely involved and contradictory process. Idealism is based on a one-sided approach to cognition.

Cognition owes much to human sensations. Yet we must not forget that besides sensations there exist abstract thinking and practice. If we exaggerate the role of sensations we may come to the conclusion that the only reality is sensations. That is exactly where the subjective idealists go astray. They say sensations are the "elements" of the world. These are the roots subjective idealism has in cognition.

All of us have seen and tasted apples, pears and oranges. But not one of us has seen or tasted "fruit" in general. The concept "fruit" is an abstraction of all the general properties common to apples, pears and oranges. Abstractions are essential to cognition. Thinking is impossible without them. No science can do without them. At the same time, it should never be forgotten that the general properties, which go to make up the abstraction, do not exist by themselves. If this is forgotten it is not so hard to imagine that apart from apples, pears and oranges there is "fruit" in general and that it is precisely this concept that lies behind all genuine fruit. This is what objective idealists do. They assert that a concept or an idea exists by itself and gives birth to individual things. These are the roots objective idealism has in cognition.

Nevertheless, it is not simply a matter of being at loggerheads over the process of thinking. The reasons idealism has persisted for so long must be viewed in social conditions.

In contrast to materialism, idealism expresses, as a rule, the interests of the conservative classes, endeavouring to preserve a redundant order. Because an awareness of the laws of the world serves social progress, the old classes cling to idealism for the purpose of disorganising the working people, preventing them from resolving practical tasks and driving them into the world of nebulous and insipid

abstractions. The old classes propagate and uphold idealism. Hence the major reason for idealism's preservation. Hence the abundance of idealistic theories in the imperialist countries.

The unscientific nature of idealism is patently obvious in its close ties with religion.

Religion is a fantastic and distorted reflection of the world in man's mind. It proclaims his impotence in face of nature and his humility. The religious outlook on the world is directly opposed to the scientific one. They are antipodes.

Throughout history, religion and science have been locked in battle. By its discoveries science undermines the basis of religious dogmas about the existence of a god, an Almighty. Science finds no place for a god when explaining the natural causes of what goes on in the world. On many occasions in the past the Church has persecuted scientists and more than a few outstanding scientists have perished at its hands. Today, religion has had to retreat before the might of human reason. Nowadays, far from rejecting science, clericals often endeavour to prove that God gave man powers to cognise the world.

The purpose of religion is to instil in people the idea that social being has a transient nature, that struggle for happiness on earth is futile, that we should all be passive and indifferent to our own fate. As a reward the faithful are promised a place in the Kingdom of Heaven. Naturally, these ideas fit in well with the interests of the exploiting classes, because they distract the common people from revolutionary struggle. That explains the ruling classes' unhesitant support for religion and patronage of the clergy. Religion is a weapon for the spiritual enslavement of the common people—the opium of the people, as Karl Marx once said.

Idealism and religion are twins, both in essence and in their social role. Both are at variance with science and materialism.

Thus, materialism and idealism are two fundamental trends travelling in opposite directions, the two irreconcilable camps of philosophy.

THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE OF PHILOSOPHY. The watershed between materialism and idealism is the differing approach to the question of the *relationship between matter and consciousness*. Materialism proceeds from the basic principle that matter is primary and consciousness secondary.

Social being, i.e., matter or nature, determines consciousness, say the materialists, basing themselves on social practice and natural science. Idealists, on the other hand, take consciousness as primary, i.e., coming before matter and being.

Because of the exceptional significance of the relationship between matter and consciousness for positions held in philosophy, this issue has been termed *the fundamental issue of philosophy*. All other issues depend on the approach to this one question. Indeed, if you accept matter as primary and independent of consciousness, you will naturally look upon motion, space and time as objective forms of matter's existence. If you take matter as secondary and produced by consciousness, it is quite possible to view motion, space and time as forms of consciousness, or the spirit. Or let us take the question of scientific laws. The materialist approach to the fundamental issue of philosophy directly leads to the view that laws are objective. The idealist approach forces us to the conclusion that laws are either the manifestation of a universal idea or the product of the human brain. No philosophical question can be solved without first settling the question that lies at the crux of philosophy.

There is another aspect of this central issue that must be settled: What is the relationship between our consciousness and the world? Is the world cognisable? Here again materialism and idealism are at opposite poles. Materialists affirm that the world is cognisable. The idealist camp is split. The overwhelming majority of modern bourgeois philosophers preach the impotence of human reason, thus ruling out the world's knowability. Certain idealists, however, do not reject the cognisability of the world, while denying that cognition is a reflection of matter in the human brain. In their opinion, cognition is the bringing of pure ideas to the world, comprehension of the workings of an absolute spirit, of world consciousness or, in other words, of a god. It goes without saying that such an approach to cognition is not aimed at an investigation of the objective laws of nature and society.

Certain idealists try to cover up the reactionary nature of their ideas by maintaining that they belong to neither camp and that they have found a middle course in philosophy.

But they cannot get away from the question of the relationship of being to consciousness. In reality, the middle-course men turn out to be preachers of idealism pure and

simple. First they say there is no sense in discussing the crux of philosophy, since the aim of philosophy is to analyse "sensory data". Then they explain that what they mean by "sensory data" are sensations and perceptions. They view them not as a reflection of objects of the outside world, yet they are the only reality. In this way they have preordained solution of the fundamental issue of philosophy in favour of idealism, regarding sensations and perceptions as primary in relation to the material world.

We have already established that both materialism and idealism are prompted by the interests of definite classes. The former relies on science and expresses the interests of the advanced and progressive classes. The latter adheres to religion and defends the interests of conservative and reactionary classes.

Of course, we must not run away with the idea that all idealists deliberately defend conservative and reactionary interests. Among them there are persons who take a progressive stand on many issues of the day, such as the peace struggle. What is actually meant is that the very content of idealism, whether the supporters of this doctrine wish it or not, serves the interests of reactionary classes.

A relentless and irreconcilable battle is raging between materialism and idealism for people's minds. At first glance it may appear that this tussle is quite remote from economic or political issues, from the class struggle seething in many countries. This is not so, however. Each of the two basic trends strives to get people to see the world in a certain way, to form a certain system of thought. And on this hangs the approach to politics. In the final count then, the conflict between materialism and idealism is bound up with the class struggle.

Hence, the question of the relationship between being and consciousness is the fundamental issue of philosophy because all other philosophical questions depend on its solution. But there is another reason. In the way this question is to be solved we see the *partisanship* of philosophical theories, their link with the class struggle and politics.

Dialectical materialism is partisan because it directly expresses the interests of the working class. Bourgeois philosophers call this partisanship an obstacle in the way of an objective, scientific understanding of the world. That is

wrong. The working class is interested in a scientific comprehension of the laws of reality, as this is needed for transforming the world. This class interest is, therefore, in full accord with a scientific, objective understanding and is no hindrance. Bourgeois partisanship, however, is quite another thing. It really does obstruct a scientific and objective approach to an understanding of the world. The contemporary bourgeoisie have no interest in a scientific cognition of the laws of development, for these laws are fatal to capitalism. Is it feasible then to expect bourgeois philosophers to be impartial and objective?

In the next chapter we shall deal with the laws of social development and we shall clearly see the partisanship of Marxist philosophy, its bearing on the workers' interests and on politics in general.

THEORY OF SOCIETY'S DEVELOPMENT

History is a complex story of revolutions, uprisings, *coups d'état*, internecine wars, ideological strife, and so on and so forth. How do we find our way in this unending labyrinth of historical events? Are historical events governed by some objective law or do they occur haphazardly?

Marxism supplies the answer to these questions in the theory of *historical materialism*, a study of the laws of society's development. Through this we can establish that the whole multitude of events and facts of history are governed by laws. This enables us to understand why things happen in history and sort out what is essential and superficial.

THE MATERIALIST APPROACH TO HISTORY

SOCIAL BEING AND SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS. Society's development is very different to that of nature. Nature knows no conscious or thinking forces and develops spontaneously. Not so society. Here there are human beings endowed with brains, wills and desires. They set themselves goals and seek to attain them. Some people interpret this as meaning that consciousness, ideas and goals form the basis of social life.

Is this so? Why do some groups of people adhere to some ideas and other groups to other ideas? Why, for instance, is there a difference of opinion and conviction between workers and capitalists in capitalist society? The capitalists exploit the workers, hold all the strings of power and enjoy all life's privileges. Naturally they have no grumbles about the existing set-up and consider it the last word in justice. As far as the workers are concerned the boot is on the other foot. They have to toil for the capitalists to win their livelihood. How can they find the capitalist regime just? The divergence of views is due to the difference in the positions in society of the workers and capitalists, their material con-

ditions of living. *The way people think corresponds to the way they live.*

In order to keep alive, man must satisfy his material needs of food, clothing and somewhere to live. Whether he likes it or not, these needs bring him into a certain relationship with nature and other people. He tills a field, builds a house, sews some clothes, creates his tools and exchanges his labour products. All these activities go to make up the material conditions of life, people's social being, which is subject to objective laws independent of prevailing ideas and theories.

The No. 1 feature of social beings is work for producing material wealth.

It is work that distinguishes man from the animal world. Animals do not produce material wealth. They take what they find ready-made in nature. Man's relation to nature is far from passive; he transforms it. By his labour he creates the material wealth he needs. Labour, then, is the source of the wealth created by mankind throughout history. Not only the human brain, but also the human hand to a certain extent are the products of labour. Over thousands of years of toil, hands have been shaped into a delicate organ capable of executing the most intricate operation. Only through labour has the human hand attained such a high degree of refinement that it can, in the words of Friedrich Engels, bring to life the paintings of Raphael, the sculptures of Thorvaldsen and the music of Paganini.

Work has always been the immutable and natural condition for society's existence and development, the main foundation for human life.

Without satisfying their material needs through productive labour, people would not be able to go in for science, politics or the arts, or create philosophical and political theories. This means that it is social being that shapes man's consciousness, not vice versa.

Whatever social theory we take, it is bound to take root in social being, in society's material conditions of life. Hence the important conclusion that the cause for social development should not be sought in human consciousness, but in social being, in development of the production of *material wealth*.

FORCES AND RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION. First we should be clear about the component parts of production.

For production to start we need some sort of material out of which the finished article is to be made. It may be wood, coal, iron ore or some other useful material. In other words, we need an object for man to work on—an *object of labour*.

Material goods cannot be produced by bare hands alone. Even the most elementary work is done with a hammer, an axe or a spade. To make modern industry function, we need lathes, up-to-date machinery and precision tools. All things people apply to the object of labour, utilising mechanical, physical or chemical force, are called the *instruments of labour*. Marx, underlining their important role in production, called the instruments of labour the bone and muscle system of production. In addition to the instruments of labour, production necessitates factory buildings, stores, warehouses, power sources, railways, electric cables, canals and so on. Together with the instruments of labour they make up the *means of labour*. Objects and means of labour go to form the *means of production*, the sum total of material conditions without which production is impossible.

The last component part of production is human labour. Without people machinery remains dead and cannot produce any material goods. People, by putting the instruments of labour to work, are the *producers of material goods* and, as such, are the major factor of production.

The means of production created by society, plus the people who set them in motion, together comprise *society's forces of production*. These forces imply the material relations between society and nature. Their level of development indicates the degree of power man has over nature, his active influence on nature.

The level of the forces of production can be judged, in the main, by the instruments of production. They have their own history: from primitive man's rough wooden and stone implements to the automated machinery of today. The more refined the instruments of labour, the greater the amount of material goods that can be produced. It took primitive man a long time to chop down a tree with his stone axe. Today, an electric saw can do the job in a few seconds. A single high-speed excavator can dig out more earth in a couple of hours than a thousand men, armed with spades, can in a day.

The level of the forces of production is also determined

by production's power base. For many thousands of years the only source of power was the muscles of man and beast. Today, we get energy from vast electric power stations, many millions of times mightier than muscle power.

Another indicator to the level of the forces of production is human production experience, technical know-how and skills. Modern forces of production very much differ from those that existed a century and a half ago. Today, the instruments of production are more streamlined and workers have far more technical knowledge and skill.

May we conclude that the forces of production alone determine the face of production? We could if everyone independently turned out the products they need. But this is the whole point: production is impossible in utter isolation. Even a hermit who shuts himself away from his fellow-men and provides for all his own needs, will have to resort to implements created and improved by society. He will have to make use of technical skills and know-how, stored up by many generations. The means of labour, technical know-how and the labour product are all results of people's common activity in the course of which they are obliged to come into *relations of production* with each other.

What are these relations of production? We know that in primitive society, all members of one clan held the same status in relation to social production. They collectively gained their means of livelihood, gave each other a hand and shared out the proceeds of their work. Why did this happen? Because the means of production belonged to the whole clan. In slave, feudal and capitalist societies, however, quite another type of relationship exists. Various groups of people occupy different positions in regard to social production. Some exploit others. The fruits of labour are distributed unequally. A handful of exploiters appropriate the lion's share of what is produced, while the downtrodden classes often suffer hunger and deprivation. How is this to be explained? In an exploiting society the means of production belong to an insignificant minority, the exploiters. With the transition to socialism the picture changes again as far as people's relations are concerned. They now co-operate with one another in their work and share out the proceeds on the basis of work done, since the basic means of production under socialism belong to the entire community.

It is therefore apparent that relations of production are determined by who owns the means of production. Essentially they are *property relations*.

People cannot live without appropriating the material wealth they create. By appropriating them they come into a property relationship with each other. Production cannot function without some form of property as a historically determined mode of appropriation of material wealth. Many bourgeois economists maintain that property is the authority of man over things. In actual fact, a thing only becomes an object of property when people come in contact with each other in the course of production. Property can be likened to language. Language as the product of a single man is meaningless, for he would have no one to converse with. It is exactly the same with property. It cannot exist without contact between people.

Private ownership of the means of production gives birth to relations of exploitation. Common ownership implies co-operative labour relations. On the forms of ownership of the means of production depends the status of the various social groups in production and the distribution of the labour product.

How are the forces and relations of production connected and what effect do they have on each other?

RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION CORRESPOND TO THE NATURE OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES. From the very outset, human beings have produced material wealth. If production had ever come to an end, society would sooner or later have exhausted all its accumulated reserves and would have perished. While undergoing constant renewal production has been continually improving and the forces and relations of production have been continually changing.

In early history, the forces of production were at an extremely low level. At that time the basic instruments of production were the club, stone axe, spear, and later the bow and arrow. It was tremendously hard for people to satisfy even the bare minimum of their needs. Moreover, they were only able to gain that minimum by working together. It naturally followed that in this situation the means of production and the fruits of people's labour should belong to the whole clan or tribe, rather than to individuals. Common ownership was necessitated by the low level of the forces of

production. Exploitation was also ruled out, since primitive man could not produce more products than were necessary to keep him alive. Within the clan or tribe, members co-operated with one another in their work. The relations of production corresponded to the level of the forces of production. Together they formed what Marxists call the primitive communist mode of production or primitive communism. Primitive, since it was based on hunger and privation instead of abundance. Hence its limitations and inevitable doom.

Moving ahead in history we see that the gradual improvement in labour implements brought about the appearance of metal implements. Division of labour now occurred: some people turned to livestock raising, and later to handicrafts, while others continued to till the soil. In the wake of division of labour inevitably came commodity exchange, because both the farmer and the herdsman had need of each other's produce. They could only satisfy this mutual desire by exchange. At this point the relations of production in primitive society, restricting people to the bounds of the tribe or clan, no longer corresponded to the forces of production because they were incompatible with the division of labour and commodity exchange.

The progress of production brought about the inevitable death of these relations. The use of new implements greatly increased the supply of products. Now individual families were able to sustain production alone. After a while, ownership of the means of production also fell into the hands of the family. Private property was born and, as a concomitant, economic inequality. Inequality also resulted from the fact that the elders or chiefs made use of their status for their personal enrichment. Thanks to the new means of production, the workingman began to obtain more produce than he needed for his own existence. This situation begot exploitation since the rich began to oppress the poor. Prisoners-of-war were made slaves. In consequence, primitive communism gave way to slave society.

In slave society the means of production belonged to the slave-owners. Their possessions included slaves who were regarded as chattels, as nothing more than "talking implements". The relations of production here initially corresponded to the forces of production. When the latter were at a

relatively low level, material and cultural progress was only possible on the basis of ruthless exploitation of the vast mass of slaves. This alone created possibilities for a larger number of commodities to be produced, for an intensification of the division of labour and the development of culture. Manual labour was being gradually separated from mental labour. Once freed from manual labour, scholars, poets, sculptors and philosophers were able to devote themselves to their own calling. Thus, the scene was set for the development of science and the arts.

But history, like the tireless mole, continued its work imperceptibly. The forces of production were all the while being improved: the methods of field cultivation improved, new ways of obtaining and utilising metals were found, and the craftsman's skill increased. The relations of production in slave society increasingly hampered the forces of production. The slave had no interest in his work. He laboured under the lash of the overseer. His work was hardly efficient. And so slavery gradually outlived itself and gave way to the feudal mode of production.

In feudal society the principal means of production belonged to the feudal lords. All that fell to the serfs were a few implements for working the soil and tending the livestock. Because the serf had no land the landowner kept him in bondage, forcing him to work on the lord's land. The serf was granted a tiny plot of land for which he was obliged to give up part of his harvest (either in kind or in money) and to till his lords' land (labour rent, or *corvée*).

At first, the new relations of production corresponded to the level of the forces of production and opened up broad vistas for their development. Because the serf had a certain material interest in the results of his labour (part of the harvest remained for himself), he displayed greater incentive in his work and utilised his implements more effectively.

As time passed, however, new forces of production began to grow in the very womb of feudalism. Towns grew up and, with them, handicraft production. Division of labour was stepped up and commodity exchange was greatly extended leading to the formation of national markets. Commodity and money relations began to eat into the very heart of the feudal system. In time, manufacturing arose and gradually pushed out the artisan. The first machines came into being

and, like mushrooms after the rain, factories and mills sprung up.

The new technology engendered the need for workingmen free from serfdom and comparatively educated. The feudal system stood in the way of social progress. It had to give way to the capitalist system.

Under capitalism, the means of production are in the hands of the capitalists. The worker is deprived of the means of production and is therefore obliged to sell his labour power to the capitalist.

Capitalist relations of production provide great opportunities for the forces of production to grow. Technological progress is far in advance of anything that has yet existed. Nevertheless, while the forces of production race along, capitalism is preparing the material requisites for its own doom. The new forces of production find no room in the Procrustean bed of capitalist relations. Capitalism is incapable of utilising for the common good the wonderful opportunities presented by the new machinery. Furthermore, it brings into being violent contradictions: crises, unemployment, wars and destruction of the forces of production. The time becomes ripe for transition to socialism.

The history of the forces and relations of production shows that they have an inner unity: a certain level of forces requires certain relations. Only when taken together they indicate how people produce material wealth at a particular stage of society's history. In other words, the forces and relations of production together make up the *mode of production*. The forces of production comprise the more mobile and ever-changing side of the mode of production. And this is understandable because, as people create material goods, they constantly gain more production know-how. This, in turn, enables them to improve the existing instruments of production and to invent new ones. The forces of production are consequently always in motion. Not so the relations of production. Property forms do not alter every day. They are relatively stable. Common ownership of the means of production in primitive communist society lasted hundreds of thousands of years. Slave ownership lasted several thousand years, feudal or capitalist only a few centuries.

What happens as a result of the uneven development of both sides of the mode of production? The relations fall

behind the forces and fall into contradiction which, in time, intensifies and turns into conflict. The relations become a brake on the further growth of the forces. The conflict can only be settled by the old relations giving way to new ones corresponding to the new level of the forces. The new relations open up broad prospects for growth of the forces and themselves initially act as their motive force. After a while, the forces again outstrip the relations and once more conflict arises between the two sides of the mode of production. History accomplishes a new leap in its development.

To sum up. There is a strong inner connection between the two sides of the mode of production. The relations of production depend on the forces of production and must correspond to them. This is demanded by production's development. If they fall out of line, contradictions arise within the mode of production which make a change in the relations inevitable, so as to correspond to the new forces of production.

Such is the mainspring of historical progress: *the law of the correspondence of the relations of production to the nature of the forces of production.*

On the historical stage, in a turbulent cascade of events, clash and seethe the passions of politicians, kings, diplomats and generals. To the inexperienced observer it might appear that history is created according to the will of these people. He may not even suspect the existence of profound historical processes which are determined by the action of the laws of development of the mode of production and interaction between the relations and forces of production. And yet these are the processes that lie behind human history.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORMATION

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND SOCIETY'S SPIRITUAL LIFE. Now we have looked at the laws of development of production, we can return to the question of how social being, or the material life of society, determines social consciousness, or spiritual life.

Let us see what influence the forces and relations of production exert on the development of social consciousness. We begin with the forces of production. As the means of

production are improved and people accumulate work experience, their knowledge of nature increases too. It would be rather fanciful, however, if we tried to take social ideas and theories directly out of the development of the forces of production. Indeed, in both socialist and capitalist countries the same types of lathes are employed, while the political system, ideology, morals, etc., are utterly different. This means that the root of social theories, political orders and morals cannot be sought directly in the forces of production.

What, then, is the part played by the relations of production?

Let us take capitalist society. Here capitalist relations reign based on private property and the bourgeoisie's exploitation of the workers. The political structure completely corresponds to these relations of production since state power belongs to the bourgeoisie who dominate the economy. Bourgeois morals are permeated with the selfish spirit of business. They are also a reflection of bourgeois relations, whose main aim in production is to squeeze out profit. Bourgeois philosophical, political, moral and ethical theories are subordinated to the interests of the money-bags. It may be objected that advanced theories and ideas also prevail under capitalism, expressing the interests of the working class and other progressive forces. True enough. But they, too, do not grow out of nothing. They are reflections of the contradictions of the capitalist system.

Let us compare capitalism with socialism. Under socialism, a new type of relations between people founded on common ownership is born. What effect does this have on spiritual and political life, on ideological relations and on social consciousness? They also alter in accord with the new production relations. In their relations, people living under socialism seek to abide by communist morals. The ideology of socialist society, Marxism-Leninism, expresses the interests of everyone.

We can now make the conclusion that it is the system of relations of production constituting the economic structure of society, which is the real foundation of society's spiritual life. The economic structure is a basis on which rises the *superstructure* of various social ideas and theories, the multitude of ideological relations, political, legal and cultural institutions.

ROLE OF THE IDEOLOGICAL SUPERSTRUCTURE. Life is very variegated and complex. It cannot be reduced to economics, since it is an intricate interaction of economic, political, juridical, moral and other relations between people. And naturally, social ideas, theories and views play a tremendous role in history. In reflecting the economic structure, they direct people's activities and in this way influence society's development, including the economy. Marx once said that ideas become a real material force once they grip the masses.

Of course, ideas differ. Whereas progressive ideas accelerate social advance, reactionary ideas put the brake on development.

With certain ideas in their heads people enter into ideological relations with one another, create certain types of social institutions and organisations. Ideological relations and institutions also exert a reciprocal influence on the economy.

Thus, the ideological superstructure is far from passive in relation to its basis, the economic system, and does not automatically record changes in it. It has a retroactive effect on economic development and is interwoven into the fabric of society's development. If anyone tried to reduce historical events to economics alone, he would inevitably substitute for the rich and infinite variety of social phenomena a barren scheme, oversimplifying and vulgarising Marxism.

How, for example, do we understand the upsurge of Russian realist art in the last century? If we were to concentrate only on the economic system, we should have to bear in mind that at that time a backward feudal-serf system existed. How is it that writing, painting and music of such a high calibre came to arise on this basis? For an answer we must look also at the other aspects of life. The ideological content of Russian realist art was determined first and foremost by the acute political battle against serfdom. This content was greatly influenced by the folklore traditions, by the progressive trends in the West and by many other things. Then where is the dominant role of the economic basis? We must remember that the political struggle in Russia, as well as the folklore traditions and the progressive trends of thinking in other countries, all depended on the economic system. That was why the economic system played the commanding role here, but only in a roundabout way, influencing the arts and literature through politics, morals and philosophy, etc.

Can we also consider the October Revolution of 1917 to have taken place only as a result of economic development? Could the Revolution have occurred if the Russian working class had not accumulated so much political experience, if the workers had not gone through the rigorous school of the 1905 Revolution, if they had not established a firm political union with the peasants? It is impossible to conceive the October victory without the Communist Party standing at the head of the working class and acting as its battle H.Q. The Revolution certainly expressed economic necessity, but this latter was manifested in the political class struggle, in the Party's activities and in the battle waged by Lenin and the Party against bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism.

Social development is therefore the interaction of economics, politics, ideology and all other aspects of social life. And they must all be carefully taken into consideration. Running like a red thread through this interaction is the economic basis which enables us to comprehend the laws of social development.

WHAT IS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORMATION? If we now take a look at society as a whole, it no longer seems a chaotic conglomeration of facts and events, haphazardly intertwined with human actions. In the system of production relations we have found some sort of skeleton of society giving it unity and integrity. Ideological relations and people's views, political interests and moral ideals provide the skeleton with flesh and blood, so forming a live and developing social organism. Thus, society, taken as the unity of its aspects at every stage of its development and as the unity of its economic basis and ideological and political superstructure, constitutes a *socio-economic formation*.

The history of society is the history of development and change of socio-economic formations. This process accords with objective laws independent of human consciousness and will. Moreover, the laws determine human consciousness and will. Altogether there are five such formations: primitive communism, slave society, feudalism, capitalism and communism. A change in the mode of production signifies a transformation of society's economic structure. Following that, big changes sweep the whole ideological superstructure from top to bottom. One socio-economic formation is replaced by another. Every successive formation signifies a new stage in history.

Among the sociological theories of the West there is a theory that history repeats itself in some sort of cycle: history is composed of successive cycles, each one repeating the previous one, so that essentially there is no motion forward. Yet, if we compare the levels of the forces of production in different formations, we shall see that their level rises with the passage from one formation to the next. And this is accompanied by advance in cultural development.

At various times of history there have been both stagnation and even regression in cultural development. With the change from slave to feudal society, for instance, there at first occurred in Europe a definite set-back to artistic development. This is just more evidence that there is no mechanical dependence of social consciousness on the economic structure. If, however, we examine culture as a whole and not its particular fields, or if we compare socio-economic formations as such, and not particular periods in history, we shall see that each formation was a step forward in cultural advance.

Social development is progressive, advances from a lower to a higher stage, and does not go round in circles. This is the quintessence of *social progress*.

HISTORICAL NECESSITY AND HUMAN ACTIVITY

PEOPLE MAKE HISTORY. Having explained that society, like nature, develops according to objective laws, we should establish what part people have to play in the historical process. Is man simply a blind tool of historical necessity?

Ancient mythology spoke of the inexorable forces of destiny which reign over people. Humans were considered incapable of changing what the gods of their destiny had prescribed for them. Is historical necessity similar to the forces of destiny? Wouldn't it be better to leave social activity and passively await the inevitable outcome of events?

One of the criticisms of Marxism from bourgeois ideologists is that it leads to *fatalism*, i.e., to an outlook which sees all historical events as predetermined. What is the sense in fighting for socialism and communism, they say, once the laws of history inevitably lead to communism? After all, no one would dream of fighting for spring or summer, since they come round anyway.

But the laws of history differ from those of nature in that they have to make their way through human activity. Historical necessity does not mean that some sort of fatalistic processes exist outside of human activity. As production grows, new material needs arise in society, so urging large groups of people to act in a given way. When feudal relations turned into the fetters of the forces of production, there arose a material need to destroy them. This need found its expression in the revolutionary activity of the bourgeoisie and the peasants who particularly suffered from feudal oppression. The revolutionary struggle of these classes swept feudalism out of existence. In France, for example, the soldiers of the Revolution stormed the Bastille and defended the new order from feudal counter-revolution. Without a revolutionary struggle feudalism would not have collapsed by itself. Hence, the laws of history do not act automatically. People themselves make their own history. Yet they do not make it at will, but under the impact of surrounding circumstances among which the economic needs of social development are the key factor. This necessity is realised through the activity of the people who are more or less clearly aware of the mature needs of society.

Not all people, however, fight for the implementation of these needs. Reactionaries defy historical necessity because it may threaten their well-being and domination. Their actions interfere with social progress but cannot hold it back. For instance, the imperialists try to preserve colonialism at all costs and delay the liberation of the colonies but they cannot extinguish the flame of the national liberation movement or prevent colonialism's final collapse.

Lenin vigorously assailed the opportunists who played down the importance of revolutionary struggle for socialism, the role of socialist awareness, revolutionary theory and the part to be played by the Party in this battle.

It follows that the more the revolutionary classes are aware of the need for the triumph of the new system and the more energetically they fight for it, the quicker social progress will be.

HISTORICAL NECESSITY AND FREEDOM. It is sometimes asserted that historical necessity deprives people of freedom, that freedom is incompatible with historical necessity. Let us look into this. Let us imagine that two men have lost their way in a thick forest. One of them, scorning the

necessary links in nature, and thinking himself free to go wherever he likes, starts off along the first path he comes across. He may console himself that at any moment he is "free" to change direction and go another way. Only after several hours of aimless wandering, tired and hungry, will he understand that his "freedom" is a delusion. In actual fact, he is not free but utterly dependent on his surroundings which cause him fear and despair. The other lost traveller takes another course. He knows that nature contains certain necessary links, such as between the cardinal points and the motion of the sun and the stars. Recalling what he has read about these links in books and using his own experience, he carefully chooses the quickest path home. With his knowledge of necessity, the man, acting accordingly, is able to get his bearings. He is therefore genuinely free in relation to necessity.

This example enables us to appreciate that knowledge of objective necessity helps people enjoy the freedom of historical action.

A good example of this is provided by Soviet experience. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is equipped with knowledge of the laws of social development. It therefore organises human resources in accordance with historical necessity which is bound to lead to communism. The results we all know. Socialism has been built. The nation is confident in the morrow and moves ahead along the path outlined in the Communist Party Programme, the path that accords with the laws of history. Like the man who is sure of his bearings, the Soviet people freely and precisely select their way forward.

We therefore see that necessity by no means rules out freedom. Nor does freedom preclude necessity. *Freedom consists in getting to know necessity and in its practical application.*

THE ROLE OF THE PEOPLE AND GREAT MEN IN HISTORY. As we leaf through a history book we come across the names of many people who have left indelible traces on the face of history. They number great scientists, generals, statesmen, revolutionary leaders, gifted painters, writers and musicians. It sometimes seems that people like Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Spartacus, Peter the Great and Napoleon were the real makers of history.

Nobody doubts the significance of the part great men have

played in history. Indeed, we could hardly deny, for instance, the tremendous significance Robespierre had in French history. But where did Robespierre's strength lie? If we study his life, his speeches and decrees, we see that he expressed the interests of the popular movement against feudalism in 18th-century France. For this reason he was elected leader and given support by this movement.

And, conversely, where did his weakness lie, causing his downfall and execution by the same guillotine which had beheaded the enemies of the Revolution? In his subsequent behaviour he lost popular support. Consequently, the historical actions of great men depend for support on popular movements, engendered by the vital needs of social progress. There were quite a few gifted people among Russian intellectuals (Narodniks or Populists) of the 1870s. But they were solitary heroes far removed from the people. Hence their activity brought no desired results. An individual with outstanding qualities will only be tilting at windmills if he is divorced from the common people and does not express the matured needs of social development.

What would have happened in history if one or another great man had not come on to the scene? If, say, Cromwell had died as a child, would the English bourgeois revolution have been carried through? The answer must be in the affirmative, since history is determined by objective laws of development of the socio-economic formations. The English bourgeois revolution of the 17th century was a historical necessity. If Oliver Cromwell had not led it, other people would have come to the fore as leaders. In all probability, a number of historical events would have occurred in a different way and at different times, but the fundamental direction of development would have remained the same.

There have been occasions when several individuals have laid claim to the discharge of some social function. Napoleon defended the interests of the French bourgeoisie for some score years. But if he had fallen in battle before the 18th Brumaire, his part would probably have been played by one of the generals who together with him aspired to power.

The role of an outstanding individual really means that he sees this role clearer than others, expresses social needs more succinctly, organises progressive forces and guides their struggle to meet these needs.

When we compare outstanding individuals of different eras, we can establish that the historical significance of their work has always been determined by the scope of the social movement whose aims they expressed. The workers' revolutionary movement, whose role cannot be compared with any other social movement of the past, presents particularly great demands on its leaders.

The workers' movement has advanced many great minds, like Marx, Engels and Lenin, creators of communist ideology and acknowledged leaders of workers of the whole world. The founders of Marxism possessed outstanding qualities: the gift of keen, scientific foresight, the ability to analyse experience of the revolutionary movement in a creative way, skill at combining theory with practice, talent in organisation, intrepid faith in victory, personal courage and sociability. Progressive mankind bears them great respect and love for the tremendous contribution they made to the struggle for social progress and the workers' emancipation.

No matter how great a role played by outstanding individuals, there can be nothing superhuman about it. Bourgeois ideologists frequently deny the role of the common people in history and endeavour to shroud the actions of great individuals in a cloak of mysticism, apportion to them the ability to make history according to their own will, advocate a blind hero worship, and whip up a cult around them. Any personality cult is very much at variance with the materialist understanding of history which asserts that the basis of history must be found in material production, *in the activity of the common people*.

Marx, Engels and Lenin themselves always condemned any uncalled-for glorification of individuals, eulogies to their abilities; they remained irreconcilable foes of any personality cult, and explained the enormous damage it could cause the revolutionary movement.

Even in science, art and culture, where gifted people are particularly important, cultural progress is ultimately determined by social requirements. Great scientists make discoveries which are prepared by social practice. Great men of letters and the arts express in their works the social ideas of their era.

It is clear that Darwin's theory of the origin of the species was prepared by the development of agriculture. We only

have to look at the ideas expressed by Darwin's predecessors for proof of the timeliness of this theory. Thus, Darwin made his great discovery by utilising the achievements of biology and on the basis of experience accumulated in agriculture.

The same applies to literature and the arts. No work can be found which does not reflect certain social interests. This is particularly in evidence at a time of revolution, when great works of art are created. The Renaissance, for example, produced a whole galaxy of great poets and painters.

What lies behind the appearance of social needs that produce great people? They arise mainly as a result of the advance of production. We are therefore forced to the conclusion that the decisive part in history is played by the people engaged in production, people who create material goods. This great historic work is always performed by the common people.

When we turn to politics we can confidently say that no revolution has ever taken place without the people playing a decisive role. In both revolutions and wars of liberation it has always been the common people who have been the main force. And even in times of peace, when the ruling classes have endeavoured to prevent the people from participating in politics, the people have, nevertheless, exerted an impact on politics. Kings, presidents and ministers defending the interests of the exploiters have been forced to reckon with the people's demands. By their constant struggle, the people have restricted the appetites of the ruling elites and forced them to make concessions.

In science, literature and the arts it would appear, nonetheless, that only exceptionally gifted persons are involved. Scientists, writers, poets, painters, musicians—an endless list of great names could be mentioned. But from where do the great minds draw their ideas, their inspiration? We know that science progresses on the basis of practice, on the basis of achievements in production. The sources of scientific ideas can therefore be traced to that vast production experience which the common people—the direct producers of material goods—have accumulated, bit by bit, over the ages.

We know from the history of literature that many classical works have their roots in the people. Much of this remains today in folk tales, songs and epics. The people, in other words, are truly great poets and musicians. Real

masters draw their subject matter and artistic forms from the lives and works of the people.

We must conclude that there is no sphere of human endeavour where the people do not play a decisive role. And as history moves on, this role grows all the while. Today, when some nations are treading the road to communism, the people's role is particularly great. The supreme historical task of building communist society cannot be solved without the broadest sections of the working people being actively involved.

CLASSES AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

WHAT ARE CLASSES? With the exception of primitive society, every society consists of large groups of people who differ from one another in a number of important aspects. Slaves and slave-holders, feudal lords and serfs, capitalists and workers—all are social groups which we call classes. What are the main features of a class?

If we take a look at bourgeois society and analyse the distinctions existing between workers and capitalists, we notice they differ in many ways: political ideas, way of life, morals, and often in their talk, dress and manners. All these facets are important but they do not get to the root of the class distinctions which would tell us why a worker and capitalist have different attitudes to life and occupy a different social status. If we say, however, this is because the capitalists get much more money, then we are coming nearer to the real class distinctions in the economic sphere. The worker differs from the capitalist by the way he receives his income and by its size. Another question. Why does the capitalist get a bigger share of society's wealth than the worker? For the simple reason that he owns the means of production. Hence his domination over the economy, his opportunity to exploit the workers and appropriate the fruits of their labour.

Relation to the means of production is the major feature of class distinctions and it determines all other distinctions: the place to be occupied in the system of social production, the role played in the social organisation of labour, the methods used to acquire a share of social wealth and the amount of it accruing to a particular class, also political, moral, psychological and ideological qualities.



The Barricades at Sormovo, December 1905

From a painting by Y. Vinogradov

It is clear that classes exist wherever various groups of people occupy different positions vis-à-vis the means of production. It follows then that classes do not exist for ever. In primitive communist society, where private property was unknown, there was no chance of classes arising. They only came into being with the advent of private property and will gradually disappear when private property becomes a thing of the past.

INSTRUMENT OF CLASS RULE. With the means of production in their possession, the exploiting classes command a huge economic force which they use to dictate their will to all of society. Private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of the many by the few are pronounced the immutable principles of society. If anyone opposes the interests of the exploiters, he is often snubbed or persecuted. Social relations in class society are regulated by enacted laws and rules which express the will of the powers-that-be. The sum total of these laws and legal rules is called law.

Why is everyone obliged to bow to the will of the ruling

class and obey the laws it has established? Because it holds the reins of power: the police force, the armed forces, the law courts, the prisons, and the rest. All of these make up the political apparatus, a machine for maintaining the rule of one class over another, for suppressing the exploited classes. This machine is the *state*. In all antagonistic socio-economic formations, *the state is the instrument of the class rule of the exploiters over the exploited*.

The state arose with the division of society into classes. Up till then public affairs had been looked after by the people as a body. Power was not divorced from the people. The authority gained by the elders and chiefs of the tribes depended on their personal qualities: profound experience, wisdom, bravery, etc. When private property was established, the propertied class seized political control of society. From this moment on, power became divorced from the people and turned into the state power of the exploiters, the main function being to crush the resistance of the downtrodden masses.

The change from one socio-economic formation to another brought with it an alteration in the class nature of the state. Accordingly, we differentiate three basic types of exploiting states: the slave-owning, feudal and bourgeois.

Looking around the world today there appears to be various kinds of bourgeois states. In England there is a constitutional monarchy, in the U.S.A. a presidency, and in Spain Franco's dictatorship. But they are all states of a single type, despite their differences of form. The form of state depends, firstly, on *the form of government* and, secondly, on *the political regime*. Two principal forms of government exist: monarchical and republican.

A *monarchy* is the rule of one person (king, queen, emperor or equivalent) based on heredity. The sovereign relies on the ruling class and carries out its will.

If the sovereign's actions or intentions diverge from the wishes of the exploiting class, he is certain to be replaced by another, more compliant ruler. When the Russian emperor, Paul I, wanted to conclude an alliance with Napoleon he was assassinated by his courtiers. An alliance with the French bourgeoisie was inimical to the interests of the landowning aristocracy. A historian remarked on the event that Russia had an "autocracy regulated by regicide".

A *republic* (from the Latin "res publica"—affairs of the people) is rule executed by elected bodies. In an exploiting state, a republic also expresses the interests of the ruling class.

The political regime decides the methods of government. The ruling elite may resort to open terrorist methods of keeping down the working people or may govern by democratic methods. More often as not it combines the two—the policy of the stick and the carrot.

We have now come to a very important concept—*democracy*: a state system which permits participation of the people in administration and personal liberty, that is, citizens have an opportunity to exercise political rights (equality of all citizens before the law, free speech, freedom of the press and of assembly, inviolability of the home, etc.).

In exploiting society, democracy is bound to be restricted: in democratic slave republics of the Athens or early Roman types, a large part of the populace—the slaves—were deprived of all liberties. In the medieval republican cities—Venice, Florence, Novgorod—power was wielded by the rich—the merchants, the guild masters. In contemporary bourgeois democracies, despite universal suffrage, the big bourgeoisie hold the reins of power, wield economic might, and use all the levers of the state apparatus and the mass media, and do not stop even at bribery, deceit and outright lies to keep the working people out of power. Thus, the presence of democratic institutions does not alter the class nature of the state.

In exploiting society, the state, by its very essence, is always an instrument of the rule of the exploiters. Democracy is merely one of its forms.

All the same, however restricted and at times false democracy may be in any exploiting society, it is the most acceptable form of state to the working people living in that society. All democratic institutions in exploiting society are the gains of the people who have only wrenched concessions from the ruling classes after many, many years of struggle.

Despite its class limitations, bourgeois democracy creates favourable conditions for the workers' fight to better their living conditions. By using political liberties proclaimed by the constitution, the working class can better organise themselves for the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the

capitalist system. For this reason, the monopoly bourgeoisie, afraid of the growing revolutionary movement, seek to throw democracy overboard and establish their open terrorist dictatorship. Hence, one of the vital tasks of the working class is to fight for the preservation and extension of democratic rights.

Genuine democracy is only possible under socialism where the chief principles of democracy—popular power, sovereignty and freedom of the individual—are grounded in the economic relations.

THE MOTIVE FORCE OF HISTORY. The whole of history is dominated by the class struggle. The slave-owning states of the Orient, Greece and Rome were often shaken by the blows of slave uprisings. Under feudalism, there were mass peasant revolts such as those led by Wat Tyler in England, Stepan Razin and Yemelyan Pugachov in Russia, the Jacquerie in France, the Peasant War in Germany, and the peasant wars in China. Since the outset of the 19th century up to the present day, capitalist society has been the battleground of the class struggles of the proletariat.

What lies behind the class struggle and what part does it play in history?

The class struggle invariably stems from the social antagonisms (by which we mean the contradictions between classes whose interests are diametrically opposed and irreconcilable) existing between exploiters and exploited. The very position of the downtrodden classes in society, the oppression they suffer, forces them into revolutionary battle.

Bourgeois ideologists maintain that the interests of opposing classes can be reconciled. But how can an oppressor be reconciled with an oppressed? The exploiters would have to voluntarily surrender their ownership of the means of production. But they never have and they never will. Only through the class struggle can the means of production be torn from their grip and an end put to exploitation.

One socio-economic formation is replaced by another through resolving the conflict between the forces of production and the outdated relations of production. How do the various classes line up in this conflict? Obviously, the exploiting classes do not want the outmoded relations of production destroyed. They hold on for all they are worth to safeguard their wealth and power.

The change-over to a more progressive system cannot take place by itself even if the relations of production have become a brake on progress. For the change to occur, it is necessary to break down the resistance of the reactionary classes standing behind the old relations of production. There lies the historic significance of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed classes. They knock the obstacles from the path of social progress and clear out the rubbish left by the reactionary classes. *The class struggle is the motive force of history in every exploiting society.* In this antagonistic society, social progress is impossible, without class struggle.

This struggle attains its peak and is at its fiercest at the time of social revolutions.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION. Periods of steady development in history alternate with periods of abrupt changes in social systems.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, Europe witnessed the long years of the sombre Middle Ages. Kings came and went, wars and coups d'état followed one another, feudal possessions changed hands. Yet all this did not affect the essence of the feudal system. And although, from time to time, the flame of peasant revolts involved whole countries and threatened to consume the feudal lords and kings, the aristocrats, playing on the suspicion and ignorance of the peasants, often managed to split their ranks and drown the uprisings in blood.

Then came the epoch of great social change. 16th century—Holland. 17th century—England. 18th century—France. For three centuries the social system of the leading European powers underwent radical changes. In a comparatively short space of time capitalism had come to replace feudalism.

The radical break-up of a social system, by way of which one socio-economic formation is replaced by another, is called a social revolution. Economically, its roots lie in the conflict between the forces and relations of production. The reactionary classes stand in the way of this conflict's settlement. As the forces of production grow, the conflict is exacerbated, society becomes like a steam boiler with all exits blocked. The higher the pressure, the bigger the danger. Until finally the boiler explodes—and society enters the era of social revolution.

Since the ruling class uses the state for suppressing the revolutionary movement, *the major issue of any revolution is that of power*. Having won state power the revolutionary class wields it to destroy fully the old system and to establish a new order.

There is much history to show that revolution cannot be made to order, a *revolutionary situation* has to be present, where the ruling classes can no longer rule, and the oppressed classes will live no longer in the old way.

By no means every revolutionary situation ends in revolution. Political forces are necessary to carry it through. These are made up of a number of classes interested in putting an end to the old system and capable of carrying the revolution through to its successful completion. These classes are the *motive forces of the revolution*. To unite these forces, the revolutionary classes have to acquire experience of class struggle, form political parties and organisations, advance revolutionary leaders, be prepared for tremendous self-sacrifice.

Revolutions differ according to the tasks they decide. If the revolution establishes bourgeois relations, it is bourgeois in nature. If it leads to the establishment of the socialist system, it is socialist.

Oppressed and exploited classes play a tremendous part in all social revolutions. By their tenacious and selfless fighting, they bring the downfall of the old order. They are always in the thick of the battle; they storm the bastions of state power of the reactionary classes; and they vigorously spring to the defence of the revolutionary gains from the sallies of the counter-revolutionaries. The downtrodden classes are the major motive force of all great social revolutions. Revolution is a great occasion for the oppressed and exploited. Thanks to the people's active participation in politics, developments proceed at a fantastic pace. Social revolutions may be compared to a cleansing storm after which it is easier to breathe. Revolutions brush aside the obstacles in the way of social progress. Marx called them the locomotives of history.

THE PROLETARIAT'S IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON. Having made our acquaintance with the basic tenets of Marxist philosophy, we now go on to examine its social significance.

Philosophy has been in existence for many centuries, but it was only with the coming of dialectical and historical

materialism that it became linked up with the people and the revolutionary struggle.

As the story goes, a Greek philosopher, Diogenes, spent his life in a barrel. He was only interested in preventing people from troubling him with their worldly cares; in a barrel he could ponder in peace. Of course, there have not been many philosophers like Diogenes. Many, in fact, have actively taken part in the social and political affairs of their times. Yet even the most progressive scholars have not been consistently scientific in their works. In their attitudes to society, philosophers of the past were idealists. Their philosophies could not show the people how to escape a life of need, how to liberate themselves from exploitation.

Marxist philosophy arose to express the interests of the proletariat, the class whose historic mission it is to destroy the system of exploitation and to build communism. How can this be accomplished? Philosophy must provide the answer. Marx rightly said that "philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change it*".*

By providing a scientific interpretation of the world and revealing the laws of social development, Marxism has become the ideological weapon of the proletariat. It has become the brain of the emancipation movement, with the working class as its heart. As the philosophy of the people, Marxism has acquired an effectiveness out of reach of the philosophies of the past. Dialectical and historical materialism has become the ideological basis for the proletariat's class struggle, the theoretical foundation for the construction of communism. The Communist and Workers' Parties base themselves on it when drawing up their policies for action in the intricate situation of the modern world.

Applying the dialectical materialist philosophy as an instrument of scientific investigation, the founders of Marxism subjected the economic system of capitalism to a thorough examination, thus revealing the causes and mechanism of capitalist exploitation. They scientifically substantiated their forecast that capitalism, the final antagonistic socio-economic formation, was doomed.

* Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, in two volumes, Vol. II, p. 405.

CAPITALISM

Marx wrote in his preface to the First German Edition of *Capital* that "in this work I have to examine the capitalist mode of production and the conditions of production and exchange corresponding to that mode!"* Having uncovered the laws governing production and the distribution of material wealth, Marx showed that the causes of capitalism's inevitable downfall and of socialism's victory are rooted in the economic conditions of society.

CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

COMMODITY AND VALUE. Under capitalism the dominant form of economy is commodity production, which means production of goods not for personal use, but for sale on the market. The commodity, or the exchange of a commodity for a commodity reflects all the contradictions of bourgeois society.

Commodity exchange existed long before capitalism, it existed under slavery and feudalism though natural economy prevailed in both cases. Under capitalism, however, factories and farms produce chiefly for the market. All aspects of capitalist life are permeated by commodity-money relations. Commodity exchange is the most mass, most commonplace, most oft-met relation of bourgeois society. As John Bunyan wrote in *Pilgrim's Progress*: "All are such Merchandise sold, as Houses, Lands, Trades, Places, Honours, Preferments, Titles, Countreys, Kingdoms, Lusts, Pleasures and Delights of all sorts, as Whores, Bands, Wives, Husbands, Children, Masters, Servants, Lives, Blood, Bodies, Souls, Silver, Gold, Pearls, Precious Stones, and what not."

Under what circumstances does the labour product become a commodity?

* Marx, *Capital*, p. 8.

First, there must be a social division of labour where each person no longer produces everything he needs for himself, but engages in only one form of production. Secondly, the means of production must be the property of individuals or groups. Under these two circumstances the purchase and sale of commodities is an economic necessity.

Commodities are products of labour produced for exchange. It is evident that they must satisfy some human need, otherwise nobody would buy them. The utility of goods, their ability to satisfy human wants, is called the *use-value*. The use-value of bread, sugar, butter, milk, meat consists in that they all satisfy people's food wants. The use-value of shoes and boots consists in that they all satisfy people's footwear wants.

People can have commodities if they buy them. For example, for one and the same sum of money we may acquire a refrigerator, three bicycles, two sewing machines or five men's suits.

As use-values these commodities are incommensurable: a refrigerator satisfies one need, a suit another. As far as their utility is concerned they cannot be compared. But all commodities have one thing in common which makes them commensurable. *They are all products of human labour.* By equating commodities to each other, people equate the labour embodied in the commodities. This labour forms the *value* of a commodity. It is not easy to understand the concept of value, for it contains not a single particle of substance, as Marx put it in *Capital*. Let us, however, define the concept step by step.

Since value is labour embodied in a commodity, its size depends on the amount of labour expended on producing the commodity. The amount of labour is measured by working time. Consequently, working time is the measure of labour and the measure of value. Working time is itself measured in hours, days, etc.

The more the labour expended on a commodity the higher its value. This is easy to appreciate. A miner extracts a certain amount of iron ore worth £10. A foundry worker smelts cast-iron from the ore now worth £30. From the cast-iron steel is made, whose value is £90. Out of the steel pins can be made worth £300, or pen-nibs worth £900, or watch springs worth £3,000. The same quantity of steel goes into the making of all three products. Then why are the nibs

worth more than the pins, and the springs more than the nibs? Because the amount of labour expended on the production of these objects differs.

Commodity producers work in different conditions, use various labour implements, possess varying degrees of skill. They also spend different lengths of time on the production of a certain commodity. On the market, however, similar commodities have the same value. Hence the magnitude of value does not depend on the individual features of production and the producer, but on the prevailing labour conditions, on the *socially necessary labour time*.

Let us imagine there are three groups of commodity producers making shoes. One produces a pair of shoes in 7 hours, the second in 10 hours, and the third in 14 hours. At the same time, the first and third groups are small and only produce a small amount of shoes for the market; the second group is the main producer.

What time will be socially necessary? That which is expended by the second group, i.e., 10 hours. Why? Because socially necessary time approaches or coincides with working time at all three enterprises (the best or worst) which produce most commodities in a given branch of production.

Thus, *value is the socially necessary labour expended on producing a commodity*.

A commodity's value, its size, appears in the process of circulation, through exchange for money. A commodity's value expressed in money is called price.

Social relations between the commodity producers are manifested in value and money. Where these relations occur spontaneously, through commodity exchange, relations between people are hidden by a material shell, appear as relations between things.

In bourgeois society, money rules people, ensnares them. In this world, as Balzac once remarked, "on the highest pinnacle stands the blessed, reverend, noble, evergreen, omnipotent five-franc piece".

Socially necessary time spent on the production of a commodity does not stand still. It gets shorter as the workers' labour becomes more productive, as technology and science advance.

Back in 1784, the price of one pound of yarn in England was 10s 10d. In 1823, it had fallen to 11d. The fall in price

was due to the invention and widespread use of spinning frames, which meant that most yarn was now worked in mills. The size of yarn's value was now determined by machine production. Domestic weavers working at their own spinning wheels spent far more time producing yarn than the mill did. The value of the yarn they turned out fell to the value of that at the mill. Not being able to withstand the competition the domestic weavers were shortly ruined.

As we see, a commodity's value depends on the *productivity of labour*. The higher this is, the less time is spent on the production of a commodity, the less is its value.

The productivity of labour is measured by the amount of goods produced per unit of time (an hour, a day, etc.). It depends mainly on the labour implements, their degree of perfection: the more up-to-date the machinery, the more efficient the workers' labour. Productivity of labour depends also on the workers' qualifications, their skill at making use of the machinery at hand. In this respect science plays a big part. The quicker scientific discoveries are applied to production, the higher the productivity of labour. Lastly, productivity depends on natural conditions, like a fertile soil and mild climate for agriculture, or rich deposits, oil-bearing wells, etc., for the extractive industry.

The productivity of labour does not rise simultaneously at all enterprises. It usually increases first at a few technically advanced plants.

Let us imagine that at the vast majority of plants in a certain branch of industry, each employee, working an eight-hour day, produces eight units of a commodity. In one hour's work he creates a new value equal to £3, and in the full day, £24.

Now let us suppose a new device is introduced at one of the plants so doubling productivity. At this plant, not eight but 16 units of the commodity will be turned out in an eight-hour day. Consequently, the individual value of one unit of the commodity will fall until it equals £1 10s instead of £3. Yet this commodity's social value has not been affected by the higher productivity at the advanced plant. It remains at £3 per unit. The capitalist who has applied the new device will sell his commodity at the social value, thus gaining £1 10s on each article sold over and above his competitors. This extra amount will be equal to the difference

between the commodity's social value and its individual value.

Understandably, the other capitalists will also want bigger profits, and if they lag technologically, they will search for innovations to push up labour productivity.

If the majority of enterprises in a given branch increase labour productivity and make it standard so that the average worker will produce in eight hours 16 units instead of eight, then the socially-necessary labour-time in producing one unit will fall from one hour to 30 minutes and the social value of one unit will decrease by half. And all the entrepreneurs will find themselves on an equal footing. To obtain more than others, the big entrepreneurs will once again step up productivity at their plants, and then the entire process will repeat itself all over again, but at a higher level of the forces of production.

The drive for higher labour productivity is an economic necessity for all societies, since it is the major requisite for economic and cultural advance. It reflects both the new level of the forces of production and the nature of the relations of production, i.e., the mode of production, its features, motion and development.

Every mode of production creates a higher productivity of labour than the preceding one, and makes society wealthier. All the advantages of the new society over the old come out in the growth of labour productivity. Lenin once wrote that "labour productivity is, in the final count, the most important and principal element in the victory of the new society. Capitalism created a productivity of labour unprecedented under feudalism. Capitalism may only be finally beaten and will only be beaten when socialism creates a new, much higher, labour productivity."

LAW OF VALUE. When they come to organise their production, capitalists act for the most part in isolation from one another, taking risks upon themselves. Therefore no one knows in advance how many plants will be employed in the production of certain commodities, how many goods will be turned out in a year or two, what quantity of goods will be put on to the market and how many the consumers will buy. This leads to spontaneous development and engenders *anarchy of production*, lack of organisation and planning in the capitalist economy as a whole. Although he may be

complete master of his own house, the capitalist is a slave of the market, where economic laws act spontaneously.

An inseparable concomitant of anarchy is *competition*, the unrelenting battle among the capitalists for the most favourable production and market conditions and the highest profits. Nobody under capitalism can make the entrepreneurs utilise their means for the common good.

How can such production exist and how can it develop?

The law spontaneously regulating capitalist production is the *law of value*.

Under the law of value, commodity exchange is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour expended on the production of commodities. The price set on a commodity must correspond to its value, but prices are formed on the capitalist market spontaneously, by the interaction of supply and demand. If supply exceeds demand, price will fall below value. And vice versa. When supply and demand coincide, price coincides with value. Under the influence of price fluctuations, capitalists transfer their capital from branches where the price of goods is lower than their value to branches where price exceeds value.

Let us suppose that the value of a car is £1,000. On the market demand does not meet supply. The capitalist did not know how many cars would be bought and his output was greater than necessary. The market immediately reacts with a spontaneous movement of prices. As a result of competition, a car's price will fall below its value to £700. The price fall will force the motor manufacturers to cut back production while other capitalists will have to move their capital into other industries where prices are above value. Instead of turning out 250,000 cars they will now have to produce, say, 170,000. Let us suppose the capitalists have again missed the mark and demand is actually for 200,000 cars. The price once more changes and moves above value, say to £1,250. Again output increases, new capital and labour flow from other industries, and prices are set in motion. Once more they will turn out to be below value. Output is cut back and prices rise above value, and so on.

The spontaneous price fluctuation around value is the only possible mechanism for regulating capitalist commodity production. By making output more or less profitable in a certain branch of production, price fluctuations determine

whether output should be stepped up or cut down. That is the essence of *the law of value which regulates commodity exchange, the allocation of the means of production and manpower among the various branches of capitalist production.*

The competitive struggle to some extent stimulates the introduction of new methods and machinery, and the modernisation of production. At the same time, competition and production anarchy cause the breakdown of the forces of production, bring all manner of hardships to the working people. We can best appreciate this by looking at the way capital exploits labour.

EXPLOITATION OF LABOUR BY CAPITAL

SURPLUS VALUE. Capitalist production is subordinated to one aim: enrichment of the capitalists. How and at whose expense is this attained?

Before goods are sold on the market and before a profit is made, they have to be produced. Value can only be created by labour, and labour alone.

The capitalist is no slave-owner or feudal lord. He has no slaves or serfs whom he can dispose of as his own property. But he does have the means of production in a society where there is also a class, the proletariat, deprived of these means. The worker is free from personal dependence on the capitalist, but, in order to live, he is obliged to hire himself out to the capitalist, to sell his *labour-power*. In purchasing it, the capitalist acquires the only commodity capable of creating value.

Labour-power, like a commodity, is sold for a certain value. A man is only capable of work if his basic requirements are met. He needs so much bread, meat, butter, sugar a day; he wears out a certain amount of clothing and footwear; he must have some wood or coal to light his fire, and he has to provide for his family. Thus, the value of labour-power is equal to the value of the means of subsistence necessary to maintain a worker and his family.

The value of labour-power in different countries and at different times is not the same. It depends on natural conditions, on the historically formed standard of living of the workers. It is also affected by economic factors—develop-

ment of production, technical progress, etc. On the one hand, the growth in labour productivity lowers the value of the workers' means of subsistence, and therefore lowers the value of labour-power; on the other, fares also grow with the expansion of towns. So do charges on new public amenities, like gas and the telephone. New cultural demands appear. Most workers in capitalist countries today cannot do without newspapers, the cinema, radio and television. And if the requirements of the worker and his family rise, so also will the value of his labour-power.

But the most important factor affecting the amount of value of labour-power is the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for better living and working conditions.

Once he has bought labour-power, the capitalist combines it with the means of production. Factory buildings are erected, raw materials are delivered, the worker is put to the lathe and work begins.

The part played by labour-power differs from that played by the means of production. Labour-power creates a new value, while the means of production are incapable of doing this. The value given to the means of production by the workers' labour is preserved and passed on to the newly-created commodity in an amount depending on their wear and tear. If a machine has a ten-year working life, it loses a tenth of its value every year, and this tenth is transferred to the value of the newly-created commodity. Raw materials, like cotton for example, fully enter into the new product, cotton fabric, and their value is also fully transferred to the value of the fabric.

If the value of material for a coat, plus lining, buttons, etc., is £30, and the tailor takes £10 for his work, then the value of the finished coat will be £40. The old value, equal to £30, is maintained and transferred to the finished coat along with the value of the tailor's work. The new value created by the tailor in the process of working on the material is only £10.

Let us imagine that in one hour's labour, a worker creates a new value equal to £2, and the daily value of labour-power is £6. In compensation for his labour-power, he must therefore work three hours. The worker, however, sold his labour-power, not a certain amount of work, and it is at the disposal

of whoever purchased it. For that reason he must toil the whole working day. If his day lasts eight hours, he creates a new value in this time equal to £16. Hence, in the course of production the worker creates by his labour more value than the value of his labour-power. The difference, appropriated without compensation by the capitalist (and this is the source of his enrichment) is *surplus value*.

Thus, the *essence of capitalist exploitation consists in the production of surplus value and its appropriation by the capitalists*. The system of hired labour is in effect a system of hired slavery.

We see that the working day is split into two parts. In the first part (necessary labour-time), the worker creates value equal to the value of his labour-power. In the second part (surplus labour-time), he creates surplus value for the capitalist. So the more time the worker spends on himself, the less he spends on the capitalist, and vice versa. Hence the capitalist's constant urge to increase surplus value as much as possible, to step up his exploitation of the workers and to squeeze more profit out of their labour.

Extraction of surplus value is the overriding stimulus of capitalist production. For the most part, it is all the same to the capitalist what he produces: useful things like clothing, footwear, meat, bread, sugar—or lethal weapons like bombs. But he must produce use-value because that is a precondition for the production of surplus value. Steel production, Marx once wrote, is only an excuse to produce surplus value.

Production of surplus value by exploitation of hired workers is the *basic economic law of capitalism*. As we shall see, it reveals both the purpose of capitalist production and the means of obtaining it.

Surplus value is created only in the sphere of material production, and at first glance may give the impression that it is wholly consumed by the industrialists. In actual fact, surplus value is distributed among various groups of capitalists through unceasing struggle and relentless competition. At the start surplus value is completely at the disposal of the industrialists. From them, the merchants, the bankers, the middlemen, etc., get their cut. Goods have not only to be produced but also sold. The industrialist as a rule sells his product wholesale to a trading capitalist who delivers the goods to the consumer. If the industrialist were to look

after the realisation of the goods himself he would have to spend extra money on warehouses, hiring traders, and so on. He therefore hands this job over to a trading capitalist. For this he has to surrender part of the surplus value.

Consequently, all unearned incomes in capitalist society—commercial profit, interest on loans, banker's profit, etc.—are one form or another of surplus value. And the only source of all these unearned incomes is the surplus labour of the workers employed in material production. The workers are therefore exploited not only by their employer but by the class of capitalists as a whole.

CAPITAL. Under capitalism the means of production are bought and sold for money. That means they are commodities with a value. The production process begins with the purchase by the capitalist of the means of production and labour-power. Their combination results in the production of commodities. The capitalist then sells the finished products for a greater amount of money than that which he spent on making them. *The value which produces surplus value by means of exploitation of hired labour is capital.*

Many bourgeois economists maintain that capital arose initially as a consequence of diligence and other virtues: the careful ones became capitalists and the slackers and spend-thrifts became wage workers. Marx exposed this naïve idea and showed that capital arose through plunder, violence, expropriation of peasant lands and the pillage of colonies. Even if we were to allow that the first capital had its origin in hard work, this would not alter its essence, since as the years passed all capital was replaced by surplus value, which is a result of exploitation. Capitalists cover their expenses out of surplus value. If it were not for the exploitation of hired workers who create surplus value, the capitalists would quickly exhaust their initial capital and would end up with nothing.

Let us imagine that all means invested in a capitalist plant, all the capital amounts to £100,000, and the hired workers annually produce £20,000 of surplus value. Let us imagine further that the capitalist spends all the surplus value he has appropriated. In five years the amount of surplus value he will have used up will be equal to the amount of capital initially invested. Consequently, without exploitation of hired labour, the capitalist will have nothing left of his own means

in five years. In fact, the entrepreneur preserves the capital at the expense of what he squeezes out of the workers by way of surplus value.

In practice, the entrepreneurs do not throw all surplus value to the winds. Their thirst for profit encourages them to expand production by spending part of their profits to this end. Expansion of production and the increasing numbers of exploited workers lead to greater surplus value for the capitalist. One rub of the magic lamp and he can have what he wants. The master can eat and drink his fill, and his riches will still continue to grow.

Two conclusions. Firstly, all capital is the product of exploitation. Secondly, no sum of money, big or small, no sum total of means of production—factories, raw materials, fuel, machinery—are capital by themselves. They may become capital only under certain circumstances, when there is a class of private owners of the means of production and a class of wage workers selling their labour-power as a commodity. *This means that capital is a social relation between capitalists and workers, and behind it lies the exploitation of labour.*

When an end is put to capitalism and the means of production become public property, labour-power is no longer a commodity and capital as a historical category ceases to exist.

ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL AND DETERIORATION OF WORKING-CLASS CONDITION. The source of capitalist accumulation is surplus value. One part is spent by the capitalists on themselves, and the other part goes to extend production, so becoming capital itself. This process is called the *accumulation of capital*.

As production expands the sum of surplus value taken by the capitalist increases too. He is able to extend production, exploit a greater number of workers and appropriate an ever-increasing amount of surplus value. And so, a simultaneous process is at work: on the one hand, vast wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few and the exploiting classes more and more live a parasitic life of luxury. On the other hand, exploitation of the working class tends to grow fiercer and the gulf between those who actually create all society's wealth and those who appropriate it widens. That is the law of capitalist accumulation.

At the dawn of capitalism, the entrepreneur who was just

starting up, not only squeezed everything he could out of the workers. He often looked after his pennies in order to multiply his capital. In the literature of the time we often find the wasteful aristocrats, throwing around their ample means, counterposed to the thrifty industrialists, bankers and money-lenders, like Dickens's Dombey or Balzac's Gobseck and Baron Nussingen. The capitalist of that time often spent his days and nights at the factory, knew his workers by their Christian names and looked after the accounts himself.

As capital accumulated, the more successful businessmen grew fat and no longer stooped to do any of their former work: they hired people to do it for them. The grandsons of Dombey and Gobseck, with millions in their bank accounts, have no need to tighten their belts. Many literally live off the fat of the land.

Capitalism not only allows a handful of rich men to live a life of luxury by exploiting labour, but also dooms some workers to unemployment and hardship, deprives them of the means of subsistence.

Unemployment is an unavoidable concomitant of the capitalist system. A warning of things to come was served when capitalism was just cutting its teeth. Technical progress, the introduction of more efficient machinery, led to a cut in the demand for manpower. Whereas in the early years, unemployment bore a temporary character and worked itself out more or less rapidly, it later became chronic. A whole army of people was formed, deprived of work, the so-called industrial reserve army of labour. In the United States, for instance, the number of unemployed has fluctuated between three and five million in recent years.

Is new equipment guilty of depriving some people of their daily bread and causing unemployment? To the minds of the Luddites, wreaking their vengeance on machinery, this was the cause of their plight. But machinery was not to blame. In the socialist countries new techniques are applied on a mass scale and bring no unemployment in their wake.

The cause of unemployment must be sought in the capitalist economic system. By facilitating a bigger output with less labour costs, technical progress makes it possible to cut working hours and raise wages. The capitalist, however, does not renew his equipment for the benefit of the workers, but for raking in more profit. In contrast to socialist society, the

capitalist kicks some workers out of a job and makes the others work even more intensively. And how does he manage to do so? The greater the number of unemployed, the more firmly the workers attempt to hold down their jobs. Fear of losing their means of subsistence hangs over them like the sword of Damocles. That is how the capitalists use unemployment as a means of keeping down the employed workers.

Modern machines are wonderful inventions of the human intellect which can considerably lighten work and guarantee everyone an easier life. Under capitalism, however, they can be quite destructive. The real meaning of higher intensity of labour is merely premature exhaustion of labour-power. Many workers who have spent several years on automatic lines in capitalist factories are often morally and physically exhausted by the age of 40 or 45.

All this does not mean that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer in some sort of unbroken process. In some countries the capitalist attack is met by firm resistance on the part of the workers. By strike action or its threat, the workers may attain certain concessions, like higher wages, shorter working hours, etc. Yet this does not alter the fact that in the long run the exploitation of the workers increases.

The workers bear the brunt of *economic crises*, drastic declines in production. All the time the capitalists seek to expand output. They are driven on not only by their thirst for profits but also by the competitive struggle. At the same time, real incomes of the population either rise very slowly or do not rise at all. In other words, purchasing power falls short of the expansion of production. This lag occasionally attains such proportions that vast supplies lie idle, small entrepreneurs and farmers are ruined, thousands of undertakings have to close down, unemployment rises and wages fall.

At first glance it may appear that the cause of crises is overproduction. In fact it is not that goods cannot find any buyers, but that people cannot afford them. Ability to buy depends on how much is in the kitty, not how much the stomach needs. Hence the ridiculous paradox of hunger amid plenty. Shops and warehouses are crammed with products but it is more profitable to the capitalists that they rot rather than go for next to nothing on the market. They do all they

can to prop up prices so as to recuperate their losses later. To this end they sometimes destroy huge supplies of their own products.

Back in 1934, 2,400,000 starved to death in the capitalist world. Yet in the same year the U.S. capitalists destroyed over a million trucks of grain (enough to feed 100 million people for a year), 267,000 trucks of coffee, 258,000 tons of sugar, 26,000 tons of rice, 25,000 tons of meat, and other products. Here is John Steinbeck's account in his *The Grapes of Wrath*:

"The works of the roots of the vines, of the trees, must be destroyed to keep up the price, and this is the saddest, bitterest thing of all. Carloads of oranges dumped on the ground. The people came for miles to take the fruit, but this could not be. How would they buy oranges at twenty cents a dozen if they could drive out and pick them up? And men with hoses squirt kerosene on the oranges, and they are angry at the crime, angry at the people who have come to take the fruit. A million people hungry, needing the fruit—and kerosene sprayed over the golden mountains.

"And the smell of rot fills the country.

"Burn coffee for fuel in the ships. Burn corn to keep warm, it makes a hot fire. Dump potatoes in the rivers and place guards along the banks to keep the hungry people from fishing them out. Slaughter the pigs and bury them, and let the putrescence drip down into the earth.

"There is a crime here that goes beyond denunciation. There is a sorrow here that weeping cannot symbolise. There is a failure here that topples all our success. The fertile earth, the straight tree rows, the sturdy trunks, and the ripe fruit. And children dying of pellagra must die because a profit cannot be taken from an orange. And coroners must fill in the certificates—died of malnutrition—because the food must rot, must be forced to rot.

"The people came with nets to fish for potatoes in the river, and the guards hold them back; they come in rattling cars to get the dumped oranges, but the kerosene is sprayed. And they stand still and watch the potatoes float by, listen to the screaming pigs being killed in a ditch and covered with quicklime, watch the mountains of oranges slop down to a putrefying ooze; and in the eyes of the people there is the failure; and in the eyes of the hungry there is a growing

wrath. In the souls of the people the grapes of wrath are filling and growing heavy, growing heavy for the vintage."

Economic crises are a vivid illustration of how capitalism obstructs the advance of the forces of production, how it rolls back human progress. Today this is especially apparent while capitalism is passing through its final stage.

IMPERIALISM

FINAL STAGE OF CAPITALISM. At the end of the last century all eyes were on events in Central America and South Africa. In the one place the North Americans were fighting the Spanish and in the other it was the British against the Boers. Both were, in their own barbarous way, landmarks denoting the arrival of capitalism at the highest and last stage of its development, *imperialism*. But imperialism should not only be linked with plunder and seizure of other lands. Capitalist development led to radical changes in the economic and political system of bourgeois society, which provide the basis for our definition of imperialism as the final stage in capitalism's development. Lenin, in his *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, briefly defines imperialism as *monopoly capitalism*.

What are monopolies and how does monopoly capitalism differ from pre-monopoly capitalism? Monopolies are giant firms able to exercise control over one or even several branches of industry. They arose as a natural result of the concentration of production and capital.

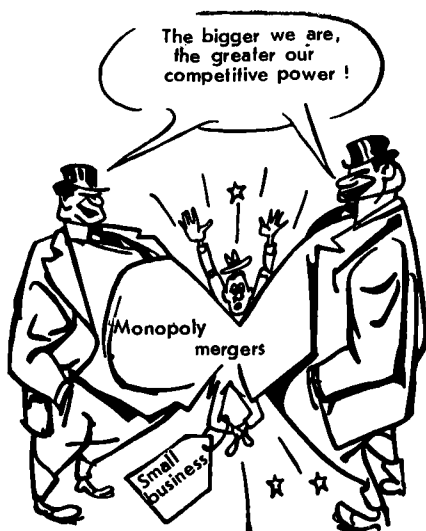
In the epoch of industrial capitalism the relentless competitive struggle inevitably leads to small undertakings being squeezed out by larger ones. This gives rise to concentration of production. This is accompanied by concentration of capital through the accumulation of surplus value.

At the same time as the concentration of capital is going on, there is also a growing tendency to *centralisation*—voluntary or forced amalgamation of many small amounts of capital. It is voluntary when joint stock companies are formed, and forced when the smaller firms are taken over by the big firms in the process of competitive struggle.

Competition among the big firms becomes particularly fierce and destructive. Each firm tries to get control over the

market and to destroy its competitors. If it does not succeed, it may try to get an agreement with other firms on output quotas, price fixing, etc. A few dozen giant firms can find accord much more easily than hundreds and thousands of tiny firms. And so, the concentration and centralisation of capital and production lead to the birth of monopolies.

The main forms of monopoly are cartels, combines, trusts and concerns.



By the turn of the century, the most advanced capitalist nations had their own giant monopoly groupings with their own empires of coal, oil, steel, etc. In Britain today, 13 firms account for 90 per cent of the country's total crude steel capacity; almost a third of the profits made by the steel industry go to three firms: United Steel, Stewarts and Lloyds, and John Summers. The entire production of oil in the capitalist world is dominated by seven firms: five American and two British. The British giants are Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. and Royal Dutch Shell. The chemical industry in Britain is dominated by I.C.I.; electrical engineering by three giants: A.E.L., G.E.C. and English Electric; the motor industry by B.M.C. and Fords.

The picture is similar in other capitalist countries.

In the U.S., steel is dominated by U.S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel Corporation (concentrating over four-fifths of steel production); oil by Standard Oil; chemicals by Du Pont; electrical engineering by General Electric; motors by General Motors, Ford Motors and Chrysler.

In West Germany, the chemical industry is controlled by I. G. Farbenindustrie, engineering by Krupps, Mannesmann and Klöckner, steel production by Flick, Thyssens, etc.

In France, four monopoly groups concentrate 80 per cent of the steel production. The Pétiney-Ugine Trust controls all aluminium production. The textile firm Boussac controls 70 per cent of the production of cotton cloth.

Industrial concentration is accompanied by the concentration of banking and trade. In the U.S., for instance, a few powerful financial groups dominate the entire economy and determine national policy. These include the family groups of Morgan, Du Pont, Mellon and Rockefeller. As concentration increases, international monopolies arise, uniting the capitalists of different countries. They share out among themselves the market and the raw material sources.

The fact that under imperialism free competition gives way to monopoly capitalism does not mean the end of competition. An infinite number of small and medium-size firms and a mass of small producers—small farmers and artisans—remain. Needless to say they are not strong enough to fight it out with the monopoly groups and are forced to pay some sort of tribute to the monopolies. In the U.S., for instance, farmers have to sell their produce wholesale to the big trading companies, who then re-sell it on the retail market. The farmer is defenceless in face of the monopolies. He has no other choice but to accept the price they set. Capitalising on this, the monopolies cut down wholesale prices and bolster up retail prices. These price gaps—the so-called scissors policy—bring in fabulous riches to the monopolies. Thousands of American farmers are ruined as a consequence every year.

This example gives some idea of how monopoly prices are formed. Under imperialism, most goods are not sold at the prices which freely form on the market. The monopolies are able to set much higher prices which guarantee themselves an *extra profit* at the expense of the workers and other working people.

Accumulating a superabundance of capital, the monopolies seek a way of putting it back into circulation to produce even greater profits. Within their own economically advanced countries, however, it becomes increasingly difficult to find profitable new investment. The monopolists, therefore, frantically look round for new fields of investment and find them in industry and trade abroad. Hence, the *export of capital* has become a typical feature of monopoly capitalism. Capital

is exported mainly to the colonies and developing countries. Investment here is exceptionally profitable since the local workers can be paid much less than in Europe or America.

The monopolists invested their capital in the colonies and raked in a seemingly inexhaustible stream of African gold and diamonds, Middle East oil, Malayan rubber, South American coffee and fruit, etc. It goes without saying that the powers with colonial possessions were in the most advantageous position. Those who were late in coming to the table of imperialist victuals, clamoured more and more vociferously for their "share" in the colonial pie. Having restricted the free competition peculiar to pre-monopoly capitalism imperialism brought about a more vicious competition: both among monopolies within one country and among monopolies of various nations for control of the markets and spheres of capital investment. The bourgeois governments, obedient to the will of "their own" monopolists, also took an active part in this fight. As a result, imperialist wars for the repartition of the world were engendered.

The danger of war is increased by the fact that the capitalist nations develop unevenly, at different rates, somewhat resembling runners in a long-distance race. Countries which only yesterday were economically and militarily way out in front, are today forced to step aside and give way to their adversaries. And tomorrow the balance of forces again changes. Every imperialist power, once it forges ahead, endeavours to use its superiority (however temporary it may be) for redividing the markets, spheres of influence and territories in its own interests. The strongest of the pack lay claim to world supremacy. The law of *uneven development of capitalism in its imperialist stage*, which Lenin discovered, leads to the formation of warring imperialist groupings, torn by irreconcilable contradictions.

Lenin showed that political changes are very much tied up with economic changes, that the turn from democracy to reaction is typical for imperialism. In stepping up exploitation of the working people, the monopoly bourgeoisie sometimes resort to terrorist methods of keeping down the workers. Fascism is the most blatant form of such dictatorship of the monopolies.

Fortunately, the monopolies do not always get their own way in establishing a regime of terror. The working class

and all progressive forces of society can and often do bar the way to reaction.

STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM. In their tussle for markets and spheres of capital investment, in their greater exploitation of the workers, the monopolists cannot get by without assistance from the bourgeois state. The alliance between the monopolies and the state is no chance affair, no temporary alliance between two reactionary forces. It is the inevitable consequence of the development of modern capitalist society.

In order to understand the nature of this alliance we must remember how things stood in the past. At the free competition stage, the bourgeois state expressed the interests of the whole bourgeois class. It intervened little in the economy and gave full rein to the entrepreneurs. Bourgeois economists of that period called the state a "nightwatchman" in a desire to underline its duty of guarding the established order. There was no call for it to do anything else.

When capitalism entered the stage of imperialism, the situation altered. As the economic might of the monopolies grew, they seized hold of political power as well. Other bourgeois groups had to stand by helpless. At the start, in many countries, the monopolists mainly acted through their trusted representatives, bought off ministers and bribed political leaders. The more powerful they became, the more they came into the open and took over the entire state apparatus. Finally, the monopolists in many countries were no longer content with rule through their agents. They have emerged from behind the scenes to take over important government posts. In recent years this has been increasingly evident.

Under Eisenhower's Presidency (1952-60), the U.S. Government was often called the Cabinet of 17 Millionaires. The Governor of New York State, Nelson Rockefeller, heads the powerful financial group of the same name.

None of this means that the monopolies have given up any of their old methods. In the U.S. Congress, for example, the overwhelming majority of Congressmen are bourgeois jurists in the employment or in the pay of big corporations. Both the major parties—the Democrats and the Republicans—stand for the interests of monopoly capital. In Britain, too, the Labour and Conservative parties are noted for their

frequent unity of views. Marx once said that the two-party system is needed by the bourgeoisie so that they can let power go with one hand and catch it with the other. In order to make sure, some millionaires are even prepared to pay substantial contributions into the funds of both parties at once.

Consequently, *the government, from being a committee administering the affairs of the whole bourgeoisie, became a committee administering the affairs of the monopoly groups of the bourgeoisie.* And this does not alter the essence of the bourgeois government one little bit. Today, just as a century ago, the bourgeois government watches over private ownership of the means of production based on the exploitation of labour. However, from safeguarding the general interests of the whole bourgeois class, it has become an instrument for defending the mercenary interests of the most powerful section of this class. It helps the monopolists extort their higher rate of profit.

As the agent of the monopolies, the government sets up special bodies for regulating various aspects of the economy, so that the monopolies can be guaranteed profitable orders and purchases at prices arbitrarily set by them. It proffers them loans, passes legislation to keep down wages, and so on. In reference to all this, some capitalist economists assert that the days of anarchy of production are over, that capitalist production can now be regulated and even planned.

Not so. In fact, government regulation of the capitalist economy cannot remove competition or anarchy of production. This is impossible as long as production is based on private property and exploitation of hired labour. The economy can only be regulated to a certain degree and, then, in the interests of the monopoly tycoons.

By consolidating the hold of the monopolies over national life state monopoly capitalism combines the strength of the monopolies and that of the state into a single mechanism in order to save the capitalist system, and suppress the labour and national liberation movements.

AGGRAVATION OF CAPITALISM'S CONTRADICTIONS.
The conflict between the forces and relations of production is the spur to progress, it comprises the economic foundation for social revolutions by which the transfer from one mode of production to another is made. We see this conflict at work in the world today—*the contradiction between the social character*

of production and the private capitalist form of its appropriation. This is the basic contradiction of capitalism.

The further capitalism develops, the greater becomes the degree of socialisation of labour, the closer become the economic links and greater the interdependence of individual firms, whole branches of industry and the economy as a whole.

Before a modern factory can turn out shoes, cattle have to be raised, leather has to be processed and then dyed. Other factories have to produce shoe laces. Engineering works must provide equipment to the shoe factory, and iron and steel plants, in turn, have to smelt the iron ore into steel for them. In addition, all factories require fuel, power, lubricants, etc.

By bringing many workers together in huge factories, capitalism tends to give production a *social character*. But while the production process takes on a social character, the form of appropriation remains private, since the means of production belong to the capitalists and the labour product too becomes their property. Private property hinders economic growth and the development of the forces of production.

Thus, even when the economies of developed capitalist countries work at a high technical level, production grows at a low rate; at other times it marks time. Chronic under-employment of production capacity is a common feature of contemporary capitalism. This is particularly evident in the militarisation of economies, engendered not only by the imperialists' aggressive designs, but also by their insatiable thirst for profits. The arms race, paid for by the state through taxes on the population, has already brought fabulous profits to the monopolies specialising in the manufacture of atomic or other types of modern weapons. And these monopolies do all they can to prevent an easing of international tension. The highly developed productive forces that could in a short time secure millions of people a happy life are used largely contrary to their interests, for the manufacture of weapons of destruction. And all because they are owned by a handful of exploiters, not by the working people, and not by all society.

The capitalist relations of production have long ceased to correspond to the character of the forces of production, have come into conflict with them. The antagonistic, irreconcilable contradiction between the social character of

production and the private method of appropriation has today become especially acute. State monopoly capitalism has prepared all the *material prerequisites for the transition to socialism*. Large-scale machine industry and the exceptionally high degree of socialisation of production have created a situation where it is possible to put an end to anarchy of production and crises and ensure the planned development of the forces of production in everyone's interests.

Naturally, this does not mean that capitalism will die out by itself without a firm struggle put up by the working people headed by the working class. The monopoly bourgeoisie will not give in without a struggle. They will use every means at their command to save the capitalist system. But they cannot prevent the inevitable: capitalism's contradictions, now stretched to the limit, are leading it to its demise.

As they increase exploitation of the workers, the monopoly bourgeoisie meet with mounting resistance. There is a tremendous upsurge in the *revolutionary labour movement* for emancipation from capitalist oppression and for socialist reconstruction of society.

The colonial and dependent people, enslaved by the monopoly bourgeoisie, are left with no other choice than to fight for their independence or die. Hence the ever-growing wave of *national liberation movements* against imperialism.

By paving the way for fascism and by unleashing wars, the monopoly bourgeoisie sacrifice on the altar of their greed millions of lives and wealth created by many generations of labour. Hence the *growing struggle for peace and democracy*. By merging into one powerful torrent, all these movements undermine imperialism, thus ushering in the epoch of transition to socialism.

THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM. Inasmuch as capitalism develops unevenly, the transition to socialism cannot be simultaneous for all countries.

In the imperialist countries there appear focal points of contradictions. At these points the class and national liberation struggles flare up with special intensity. Such a focal point of imperialist contradictions was Russia in the early part of the century. Russia turned out to be the weakest link in the imperialist chain. The October Socialist Revolution shattered this link and broke the imperialist chain, thus laying the basis for the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The death of capitalism and triumph of socialism are a lengthy process occupying a whole epoch, the epoch of the *general crisis of capitalism*.

The general crisis should not be confused with periodic economic crises. It is termed *general* because it affects the politics and ideology of capitalism as well as the economy. In the realm of politics, the monopoly bourgeoisie more and more often have to resort to the use of force to cling to their supremacy. Finally, the bourgeoisie lose their hold on people's minds because they flout the ideals which they used to ensnare people.

The general crisis of capitalism is, according to Lenin's definition, a period of the collapse of world capitalism and the birth of socialist society. Behind this collapse lies the aggravation of the internal contradictions of capitalism to the extent that the system is no longer able to maintain its dominance over other nations, who, consequently, break away and take the socialist road. The existence of the socialist system and its progress accelerate the decay of imperialism even more.

The first stage of the general crisis of capitalism followed on from the First World War and the victorious October Socialist Revolution. This revolution had an enormous effect on the labour and national liberation movements and gave a powerful impetus to social development.

The Second World War caused a further aggravation and deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. The breaking away from the capitalist system of several nations in Europe and Asia marked the onset of *the second stage of the general crisis*. Socialism was now being built in more than one country and had formed a whole system. At the same time, the national liberation revolutions led to the establishment of independent states in place of the former colonies and semi-colonies.

In the latter half of the fifties a new, *third stage of the general crisis began*.

In looking back over world development we can safely say that Marxism-Leninism has been fully justified in its appraisal of capitalism and its indication of the road ahead to the construction of a new and just social system.

FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS. Besides revealing the economic laws underlying capitalist development, Marx and Engels showed how this system gives birth to its own gravedigger, the proletariat, or working class,

Why do the workers spearhead the fight against capitalism? Because their living and working conditions tend to make them the most progressive and revolutionary class in bourgeois society.

The workingman has to deal with modern machinery and this necessitates a certain amount of knowledge and wide range of outlook. The capitalist has to provide the workingman with some knowledge if he is to cope successfully with the machinery. And the more complicated man's work the greater his awareness of what is going on about him, the more his desire to comprehend the causes of his misery and to fight for his liberation.

Besides being *more politically conscious* than, say, the peasants or artisans, the workers are also the *most organised class*. Their place of work is the factory, where the labour process hinges on their common efforts, where every worker grows accustomed to the helping hand of his work-mates, where he feels himself very much a part of the huge army of wage-labourers. And, when he goes on strike he knows that solidarity, the workers' ability to organise, is a formidable weapon against the class enemy.

Their political consciousness and ability to organise make the workers the *most revolutionary class*. Further, they have little to lose under capitalism. The peasants or small farmers are also bitterly exploited, but they have their own plot of land which puts them in the position of being half-labourer, half-smallholder. Thinking as a labourer, they are tempted to go forward to socialism; as a smallholder they cling to

the past or status quo. All the workingman has is his labour-power. In the words of Marx, he has nothing to lose but his chains, and all the world to gain.

In the performance of their historic mission the workers become the motive force and leader of the *socialist revolution*, the most deep-going of all social revolutions, whose task it is to remove private ownership of the means of production and exploitation of man by man. In accomplishing the socialist revolution, the workers liberate not only themselves but also all working people. Since the basic interests of all working people coincide with those of the industrial workers, the socialist revolution is fought for by all working people, especially the peasants, under the leadership of the working class.

In the imperialist stage, the bourgeoisie, being afraid of the working class, are not likely to keep up a consistent fight against feudalism. They therefore endeavour to cut short the bourgeois-democratic revolution and drive a compromise with the feudal lords, forming an alliance with them directed against the people. Only the workers, in alliance with the peasants, can take the bourgeois-democratic revolution to its conclusion. And once they stand at the head of the revolution, the workers naturally do not stop at seeing democratic demands satisfied. They take the working people farther—to destroy all exploitation. The bourgeois-democratic revolution grows into a socialist revolution.

The key issue of any revolution is that of power. The working class must win power if it is to resolve the tremendous tasks confronting it. How exactly it will do so will depend on the concrete historical conditions in the country where the revolution is occurring. If in struggle against the popular revolutionary movement the exploiting classes resort to naked force, wielding the whole might of the military and state repression apparatus, the working class will be obliged to take power by armed means.

But the exploiting classes are not always in a position to resort to force. After the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, February 1917, the alignment of forces in the country was such that right up to July the bourgeoisie could not use the means of military repression against the workers. Hence Lenin's hope at the time for the revolution to develop peacefully. It would therefore be quite wrong to

maintain that armed rebellion and civil war are a universal law of socialist revolution and the only way the workers can gain power. Transfer of power may be peaceful when the working class commands overwhelming support and the exploiting classes cannot or dare not use violence. Both the peaceful and non-peaceful ways require the establishment of *the dictatorship of the proletariat*, the people's revolutionary struggle spearheaded by the working class against the exploiting classes.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. The transition from capitalism to socialism is impossible without the dictatorship of the proletariat and is the key idea in Marxist-Leninist theory on the socialist revolution. Imagine that the workers, once in power, have passed a resolution to make the means of production common property and then surrendered political power, their job done. What would happen is that the bourgeoisie would again return to power and restore the set-up.

To get from capitalism to socialism, decrees alone are of no avail. The tasks of the workers are to put into effect the revolutionary aims, to defend public property and the interests of the working people against the exploiting classes who put up a desperate resistance against the revolution, using every means at their disposal, including armed struggle.

Once the means of production become public property, the workers are faced with new tasks: to put the economy on scientific lines, to ensure rapid growth of the forces of production, to take a vast number of steps in order to build socialism. None of this is possible without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The bourgeoisie and their supporters within the labour movement often seize on the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat for their main attack on Marxism. Their hypocritical condemnation of violence is often a guise for disarming the working class.

Yet the whole history of capitalism is one long story of violence and untold cruelty to the working people at home and abroad. This cannot be compared to the short-lived violence of the proletarian revolution whose aim is to remove violence for all time. Like a surgeon operating on a patient suffering from an old and painful ailment, the socialist revolution cures society of the festering sores of capitalism.

What is uppermost in this operation is not revenge on the exploiters for their crimes against humanity. The workers give them a chance to live and work alongside other members of society. But if the former property-owners resort to counter-revolution, encroach upon popular gains, they will be met with force. Therein lies the supreme justice and humaneness of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the shield protecting the people's interests.

Being a *dictatorship in regard to the exploiters*, proletarian power is at the same time a *democracy for the working people*.

It could not be otherwise, since the proletariat and the rest of the working people all have the same interests. The job of the working class, once it is in power, is not to seek privileges for itself but to show the way in the most difficult sectors of socialist construction, to instil revolutionary enthusiasm into the people.

How do the workers go about using their dictatorship to carry into effect the tasks that history has entrusted them? Can they lay hold of the old bourgeois state apparatus and turn it round to move in the opposite direction? Let the civil servants carry on the job they are used to of sending out circulars (but in accordance with the new decrees handed to them by the workers' government), let the judges continue to pass sentence (but on the basis of the revolutionary laws), let the generals carry on commanding the forces (but at the order of the workers' High Command) and let the gaolers keep their prisoners behind bars (only those who threaten the revolution plus the common criminals), and so on and so forth.

But this is the same as expecting the state machine to run idle. The civil servants would sabotage; they would flout the will of the workers' government. The generals would plot against the revolution. The judges would pervert the revolutionary laws. This is because the entire bourgeois state apparatus is designed to keep down the working people.

It must therefore be the workers' task to *smash the bourgeois state machine and create a new, socialist state*. This will be a state of the highest type, whose mode of organisation and activity is subordinated to the interests of

the working people, to the construction of a communist society.

In order to cope successfully with all these tasks the workers must have a good appreciation of their intentions both in the short and long run. This can only be provided by communist theory, without which the labour movement would be lost like a ship without a rudder, seeking the correct course by trial and error. The next question to be settled is who is to bring communist theory to the labour movement, explain to the people the reasons behind their underprivileged position and show the way out. One person or several individuals, however clever they might be, would never be able to perform this tremendous task. It can only be accomplished by *the Communist Party which is the most advanced contingent, the advance guard of the working class, whose members are the most politically conscious, the most staunch and devoted fighters for the communist cause.*

The part the Party has to play is not confined to disseminating Marxist ideas. However enlightened the fighters or builders might be, however well they might appreciate the purpose of their fight or construction, their success greatly depends on whether they have a competent, experienced leader to organise their work, to foresee the coming difficulties, to mobilise people for solving any problems that crop up. This leader can only be the Communist Party.

All major social revolutions in the past led to the replacement of one form of exploitation by another. *The socialist revolution, however, puts an end once and for all to human oppression and opens up to mankind wonderful prospects.* Therein lies its historic significance.

LENIN'S PLAN FOR BUILDING SOCIALISM

SOCIALISM AS THE FIRST STAGE OF COMMUNISM.

The Russian Revolution of October 1917 acted as the breakthrough for the whole world's transition from capitalism to socialism. It opened up a new era—the era of socialist and communist construction.

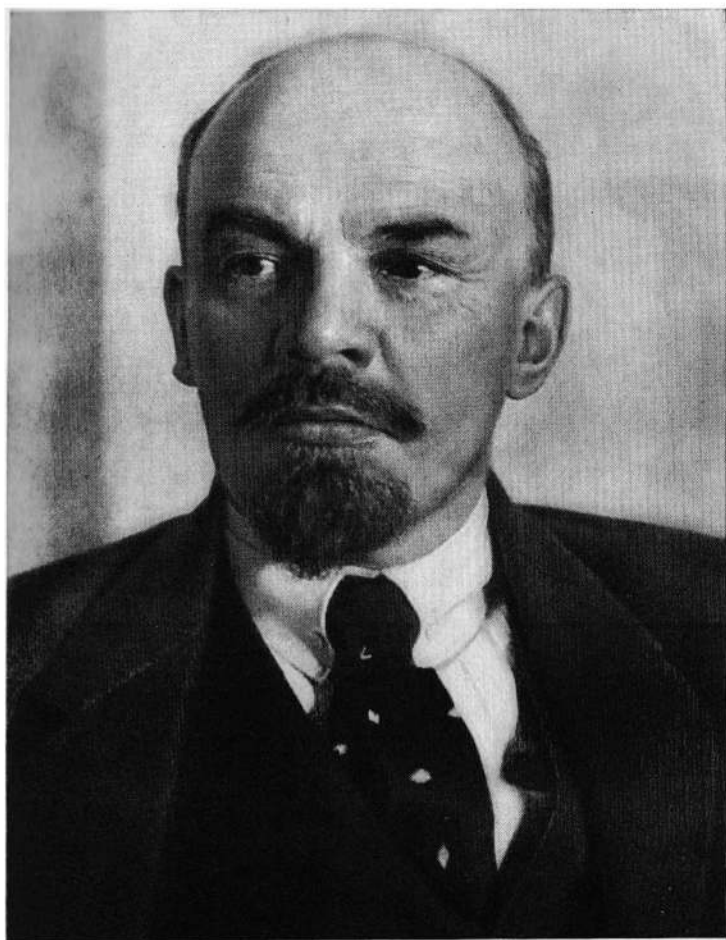
A house cannot be built without foundations. And it is just as impossible to build communism without first building socialism, without achieving its complete and final triumph.

Capitalism does not leave behind highly expanded forces of production and a highly developed human consciousness which would allow the introduction of communist principles, including the principle of distribution according to needs.

The founders of Marxism foresaw that communist society would not get by without two stages or phases of development: the lower or socialist stage, and the higher or communist stage. What the two stages have in common, what features distinguish them, and how socialism develops into communism we shall see later. For the moment, we shall confine ourselves to the conclusion that society cannot jump from capitalism to communism, that *communism can only grow up on its own foundations, on socialism*.

NEED FOR TRANSITION PERIOD. In Russia after the October Revolution, the workers and the Communist Party were faced with a host of problems, which, in effect, could be narrowed down to one only: where to begin? The question itself shows the difference of the socialist revolution from all those before it. The bourgeois revolution, for instance, triumphed at a time when the basis for capitalism had already been laid. All that had to be done was to remove the feudal obstacles in the way of the capitalist relations of production so as to ensure their unhampered progress. The socialist revolution, however, does not face ready-made forms of the new system. Socialist relations cannot mature in the womb of capitalism, as the capitalist relations matured within feudalism. And so the workers must utilise the corresponding material requisites (in particular the social character of production) so as to create socialist forms of economy and ensure the establishment and advance of socialist relations.

These are the factors which make a *transition period* from capitalism to socialism a necessity, a period when the old capitalist relations are smashed to make way for the new, socialist relations. To answer the question "where to begin", it was necessary to determine the main tasks in the transition period and find the most effective means of achieving them. In other words, the country needed a scientifically substantiated plan for building socialism. Such a plan was drawn up by Lenin, the leader of the Revolution, and embodied in the Second Party Programme approved by the 8th Party Congress at a time when the country lay



VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN

in ruins, when all that remained of factories were scrap heaps.

THREE MAIN TASKS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

Lenin's plan for building socialism put the three general tasks of the transition period as industrialisation of the country, collectivisation of agriculture and a cultural revolution.

Under tsarism, Russia came bottom of the list in economic development among the chief capitalist nations. Economic backwardness left the young Soviet Republic without a shield in the face of the mighty imperialist powers both economically and militarily. Having to exist inside a hostile capitalist encirclement, there was no other way of solving the problems of socialist construction without first creating a strong *heavy industry*.

It was not simply a matter of the heavy industry providing the country with effective means of defence. Creation of heavy industry was the only way to re-equip all branches of the economy with modern production techniques, to boost labour productivity and the standard of living. Only through industrialisation could wretched and backward Russia be turned into a powerful and thriving socialist community. Only in this way could the welfare of the people be assured and an economic basis laid for the transition to the higher stage of communist society.

In Lenin's slogan "communism is Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country" we see both the political and economic aspects of communism. On the one hand, Soviet power is political organisation making it possible for the people to govern the affairs of the community, arousing their creative energy and so paving the way for the realisation of the most ambitious designs of nature's transformation for the good of man. On the other hand, electrification of the whole country and the stupendous unleashing of the forces of production, bring about the establishment of the communist economy, guarantee an abundance of material wealth and enable the noble principles of communist relations to be implemented. The GOELRO plan, elaborated on Lenin's initiative, envisaged not only the construction of a network of hydroelectric power stations, but the all-round, well-balanced development of all branches of industry. It was, in effect, a plan for industrialisation of the country, the basis for the first five-year plans.

Only when heavy industry had been created could the second task of the transition period be set about—Lenin's co-operative plan for *turning individual, isolated, small-scale peasant farming into large-scale socialised economy*.

The Soviet state created a high-powered socialist industry capable of reorganising farm production and providing it with modern machinery. The peasant or small farmer gradually assimilated certain collective habits by making use of the simplest forms of co-operation, that is, by pooling implements and using machines collectively. Being assured in the advantages of collective work based on the use of tractors, combine harvesters and other farm machinery, the peasant-farmers voluntarily combined in collective farms and gave up their individual method of farming.

Finally, the building of socialism required a *cultural revolution* without which the workers' standards of living could not be raised and their lives made richer culturally. The cultural revolution, plus industrialisation and collectivisation, prepared the ground for socialism, which then grows into communism.

The cultural revolution actually means that culture is spread *over a wide field* (all the fruits of science, the arts and literature are brought within reach of the whole community) and ensures possibilities *for great progress*.

Above all it was necessary to wipe out mass illiteracy and ignorance. Before the Revolution of 1917, three-quarters of the population were illiterate and, among the young people, four-fifths of the girls and boys could neither read nor write. A newspaper of the time estimated that at the existing rate of educational advance it would take nothing less than 125 years to establish universal primary education for Russians and 4,600 years for the people of Central Asia.

That explains the importance of the battle against illiteracy in the early years of Soviet power.

The Soviet authorities considered it one of their most important jobs to win over the scientists and technicians trained in capitalist Russia. They had to be convinced and attracted by the grandeur of the popular cause.

"Go and tell the intellectuals," Lenin once said to Gorky, "to come over to us. Do you really think they are sincerely doing what is just? What is at stake? Come to us: it is we who are tackling the colossal task of putting the people back

on their feet, of telling the world the whole truth. We are showing nations the straight road to human life, the way out of slavery, poverty and indignity."

It was essential to train thousands of young specialists, and, to this end, open wide the doors of secondary and higher education.

COMPLETE AND FINAL TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM. Today in the Soviet Union, socialism is *completely* victorious. In fact, by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan the country had been transformed from an agrarian to an industrial nation. In 1937, the U.S.S.R. occupied first place in Europe and second in the world in total industrial production. The collectivisation of agriculture had brought about the disappearance of the last exploiting class, the kulaks or rich farmers employing hired labourers. A body of intellectuals grew up from among the people. The national question was successfully settled. The ideological and socio-political unity of the whole Soviet people was consolidated.

It is sometimes asked whether it is correct to talk of the complete triumph of socialism while the country still has a housing problem, while economic difficulties still occur, and while some people still think and act in the old conservative way.

But there are two questions confused here. On the one hand, we talk of the triumph of socialism as an advanced social system. On the other, we talk of the degree of economic maturity, the level of development of socialism as the initial stage of communism. The complete triumph of socialism is not the same as saying that the new society has attained the economic and cultural level which is its final aim. Once socialism has been built, all the gigantic potential stored up in it begins to develop and create an abundance of material and spiritual values. And people are able to live and think in a new way.

The forces of world reaction, naturally enough, could not accept socialism's victory in the Soviet Union. World imperialism fostered German fascism with the intention of annihilating the first workers' and peasants' state. And even today, imperialism has not surrendered all hope of extinguishing socialism and restoring capitalism over the present socialist sector of the world.

But today, all such attempts are doomed to failure. The Soviet Union has become a mighty industrial power outstripping the most advanced capitalist countries in many important branches of science and technology. There now exists a strong world community of socialist nations.

There are no forces anywhere in the world strong enough to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union or smash the socialist community. And once the danger of restoring capitalism has disappeared, this must mean that *socialism has completely triumphed in the U.S.S.R. once and for all.*

Birth of a New Society

THE SOCIALIST ECONOMIC SYSTEM

SOCIALIST PROPERTY

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF SOCIALISM. In the Soviet Union, the means of production belong to the community. This determines the character of the relations of production and the economic system of socialism. As a result, there are no classes deprived of the means of production, just as there are no classes of private property-owners. No one occupies a privileged or underprivileged position in relation to the means of production. Consequently, the means of production cannot turn into capital or labour power into a commodity. Hence, public ownership precludes any form of exploitation.

Where there is no exploitation, where no one can appropriate the fruits of another's labour, the only legitimate means of subsistence is one's own labour. Public ownership is incompatible with parasitism and idleness and affirms the universal duty of working to the principle "He who does not work, neither shall he eat".

Since the labour product is at the disposal of and distributed among the community, the size of payment for work done wholly depends on the level of social wealth. The richer it is, the better off are its members. Because everyone has an interest in seeing that socialist production increases, the whole community is united by a common economic interest. Socialist relations of production are the relations of comradeship and mutual assistance among workingmen free of all exploitation.

Socialist economic development is decided by common agreement of the entire community, being the owner of the means of production, instead of by unco-ordinated and contradictory actions of separate groups and individuals. Public ownership also rules out anarchy of production, economic crises and unemployment. It makes it possible

(even essential) consciously to conceive and rationally plan economic advance. In other words, the rule of public property signifies an end to the reign of the spontaneous laws of capitalist development and the setting in motion of the socialist economic laws.

These are all the salient ingredients of the socialist economy determined by public ownership.

Ownership is a social relationship which is an expression of the state of production, distribution and consumption of material values. In daily life, property relations are met as *property rights* enforced by the law of the land. Thus, individuals, groups of people or the state, own and command certain property. Here the most important factor is the possession of property. The property-holder can transfer rights of use to other people or organisations, and, to a certain extent, even dispose of his property without forfeiting his ownership. And only when he gives up his possessions (by selling or donating them) does he lose all his property rights.

Public ownership is, above all, the expression of the socialist state's possession of the overwhelming mass of the means of production and other material values. By grace of and in the name of the people, the state enjoys all property rights, including the right to sell machinery and other goods abroad.

All Soviet citizens directly utilise state property. Industrial workers use machines and lathes; scientists use equipment in their institutes and laboratories; school children and students have the use of study facilities, etc.

But not everyone can dispose of state property. This is the right of state institutions and enterprises, the units that go to make up the state as a whole.

Those in charge of state institutions and enterprises receive permission from the state to dispose of the material values at their command. The staff or collective at each state organisation has the right to control the actions of the managers or directors above them.

The state does not empower any Tom, Dick or Harry to personally dispose of its property. It entrusts this right to a director, to its managers and the collective. It is therefore the collective that is the boss at all state enterprises and institutions.

The state can transfer the right to use public property to citizens not only through its bodies (factories, institutes, schools and other state organisations), but also in a more direct way. Urban housing belonging to the state is directly handed over for general use. Yet in all such cases the state remains the supreme authority, the sole property-owner.

Why do we talk of state and not of social property in general? Because part of the means of production and other material values (including the property rights over them) belongs not to the people as a whole but to collective farms and other co-operative organisations.

TWO FORMS OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY. State and collective-farm property is in essence the same. Hence the reference to different forms of public socialist property. Both exclude parasitic classes and exploitation; and both serve as the basis for the ruling relations of production under socialism.

Since the main power in contemporary society is industry, the socio-economic content of co-operative property wholly depends on who owns the industrial undertakings, the banks, transport and other key sectors of production. Under capitalism, there are today a large number of co-operatives in existence, but as long as private property rules economic life they do not become socialist enterprises although they ease the position of working people, farmers and handicraftsmen. As a rule, they either go bankrupt because they cannot compete with the big capitalists and landowners, or they fall apart as a consequence of some members enriching themselves and taking over the whole co-operative business.

In a society where the means of production are public property and where the working people hold power, the co-operative undertaking not only cannot go bankrupt or serve as a means of exploiting people, but itself becomes a support for the new social relations. Its content is one hundred per cent socialist.

The main distinction between the two forms of socialist property consists in the level of socialisation of the means of production. State property socialises the means of production on a national scale and puts them at the disposal of the entire community. Collective-farm property, on the other hand, socialises the means of production on a single-farm scale and puts them at the disposal of a group of people.

*State
(Public) Property*

The land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, factories and their products, big agricultural projects, state farms and their produce, repair and service stations, banks, transport, means of communication, welfare and cultural institutions (hospitals, clinics, rest homes, schools, colleges, sports grounds, etc.), most urban housing.

*Co-operative and Collective-Farm
(Group) Property*

The collective farms and co-operatives with their livestock (cattle and poultry), machinery and implements (tractors, combine harvesters, etc.), their service buildings, farm labs, clubs, libraries, nurseries, etc.

(Land used by the collective farms is at their free disposal for all time.)

From this it is quite evident that state property greatly predominates. And not simply because it embraces all the basic means of production. State property makes it possible to organise economic advance according to a common plan. It encourages people to be guided by the common good and teaches them to think on a national scale.

This by no means indicates that the interests of the collective farmers are infringed upon. Like the rest of the population they are owners of state property. Moreover, the collective-farm form of property fully corresponds to the modern level of the productive forces in the countryside, thus creating every possibility for a further upsurge in production.

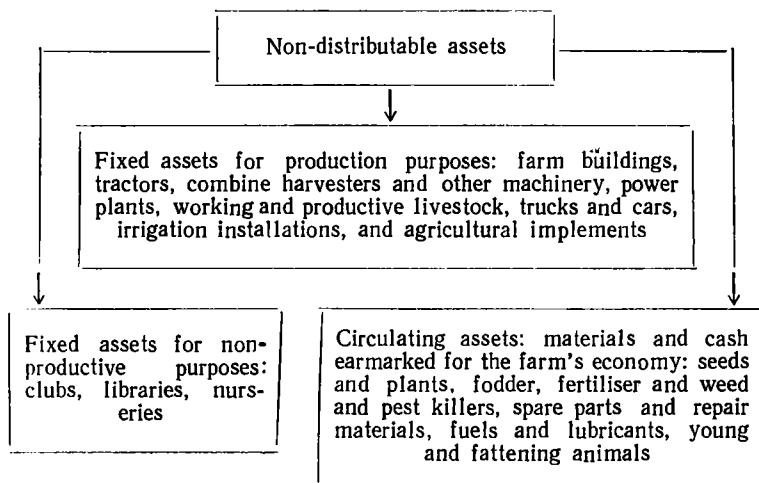
Distinctions between the state enterprises and the collective farms are bound up with the dual form of socialist property.

Workers at state enterprises get a pre-set wage in cash. Collective farmers are paid both in cash and in kind either depending on the number of workday units to their credit or on some other basis. In addition to that, the farmers have an extra source of income from their own allotment and livestock.

Farmers get their remuneration out of the consumption fund. A part of their earnings goes to the non-distributable assets, consisting of farm machinery, implements, local power stations, lorries, farm buildings, livestock, materials and cash for reinvestment in the farm, etc. Since these assets are non-distributable, they cannot be diminished, nor exhausted by the farmers in payment for workday units. They cannot be divided up or given out to farmers in the event of their leaving the farm.

The non-distributable assets are the creation of the collective farmers with the assistance of the Soviet people as a whole. Today, as far as their technical level is concerned, they are not far off that of industry. Thirty years ago collective-farm property consisted of the pooled means of production from the small peasant holdings: horses, wooden ploughs, hoes, harrows and other primitive implements. Today the non-distributable assets consist of tractors, combine harvesters, lorries and up-to-date machinery.

The yearly increase in the size of these assets comes from the annual deductions from the farm's income and the direct labour investment in making means of production and building clubs, libraries, nurseries, etc. In 1953, the non-distributable assets totalled 5,444,000 rubles, and in 1963, 29,900,000.



The two types of socialist undertakings also differ in form of management.

Factories and building organisations are managed by economic councils. The factory manager is appointed by the state and is consequently responsible to it for the whole factory. On the collective farm, the supreme body is the general meeting of collective farmers which elects the board and its chairman. In questions of organisation and manage-

ment the farmers are guided by the prevailing rules and regulations (specifically, Regulations of the Collective Farm). They adopt plans with account for both state and farm interests, sanction expenditure, establish the procedure for distributing the farm's income, and so on.

For administering the work of the collective and state farms on a broader scale production boards have been set up for the regions, territories and republics.

The socialist state renders enormous assistance to the collective farms. It provides them with farm machinery, fertiliser and seed, trains the leading farm experts, supervises veterinary work, facilitates the dissemination and introduction of new ideas, offers credit facilities and acts as a ready market for farm produce.

PERSONAL PROPERTY. Alongside social property exists personal property. This comprises the earned incomes and savings of the population, personally-owned houses, household goods and other articles of personal consumption.

The personal property of the collective farmer is rather different. It may include a garden allotment, livestock, poultry, a house and barns, etc. The need for this subsidiary economy stems from the insufficient level of collective farming which is not yet able to satisfy all the farmers' requirements.

Personal property under socialism has nothing in common with capitalist private property. The former is founded on personal labour and cannot be utilised for purposes of exploitation.

As the community's wealth grows, more consumer goods become available. This results in a growth of personal property. But the state keeps a watchful eye over the growth and proportions of personal property through the system of wage-payment in accordance with the quantity and quality of work done, through the price policy for consumer goods and the priority promotion of the public consumption funds (which will be explained later).

AIM OF SOCIALIST PRODUCTION. The aim of socialist production is to create conditions for a happy and contented life for everyone. This ties in with the age-old popular dream of communism for the sake of which the socialist revolution was accomplished, socialism built and communism is being built.

Under socialism, all of production is tuned to the task of raising living standards. This does not simply proceed from

the humanness of the socialist system. It is an *economic necessity*. If mounting production meets no demand, the rate of advance inevitably slows down. It is the increasing consumption that constantly drives on production and it is rising production, in turn, that pushes up consumption.

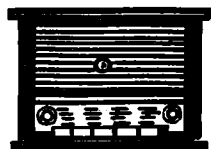
Take an example to illustrate the rapid increase in the sale of consumer goods. In 1963, as compared with 1953, 70 per cent more watches were bought, 160 per cent more radios, 380 per cent more motor cycles, and 1,600 per cent more refrigerators and television sets. Demand for a number of articles is still far from being satisfied. But under socialism, *supply must exceed demand*. In the near future the supply lag will be removed. And how will things look then? A glance at the watch industry today should supply the answer. For a few years now the Soviet watch industry has been meeting the demand for watches. Today, watch-makers are concerned with improving quality, turning out original and elegant products. Watches now look better and prices are falling.

How is the aim of socialist production to be attained? It is patently obvious that it cannot be fulfilled by a simple expansion of output. The quality of the finished product has to be improved, new types of articles brought on to the market and all prices cut. There is only one means of accomplishing all this simultaneously: technical progress.

Consumer spending in 1963 accounted for



27 million watches



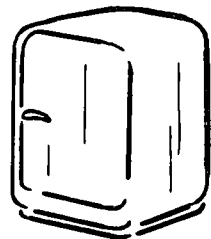
About
5 million radios



Over
3 million bicycles



2.5 million
T.V. sets



Some 911,000
refrigerators



In number of flats built annually, the Soviet Union has far outstripped the advanced capitalist countries. Between 1954 and 1963 more than 17 million flats were built in towns and about 6 million houses in villages. Some 108 million people, almost half the Soviet population, were rehoused

Higher labour productivity can only result from technical progress.

In 1963, the Soviet Union manufactured 288 million footwear items with artificial soles. If this total had been made completely from real leather it would have required more than 10 million hides. The total labour expenses on obtaining artificial leather and making footwear from them are 10 times less than producing the same footwear from real leather.

Greater production on the basis of modern machinery and work methods is just as much a necessity as a steady increase in consumption. The one is impossible without the other. Hence, *the fundamental economic law of socialism* is the steady expansion and improvement of production on the basis of modern machinery and collective labour, for the purpose of best satisfying constantly growing requirements and the all-round development of the whole community.

Socialist society, by relying on its fundamental economic law and utilising it in industry and agriculture, puts out more material values from year to year.

Thanks to industrial and agricultural achievements, Soviet standards of living are constantly on the upgrade. Larger amounts of food products are being consumed every year,

especially meat, butter, sugar and milk. The same applies to clothing, footwear and many new items for use in the home and elsewhere. Much attention is also being paid to housing.

LABOUR AND DISTRIBUTION

LABOUR CONDITIONS. Labour, the source of welfare, capable of bringing man the supreme pleasure of creation, for the many thousands of years of exploitation's existence was looked upon as an insufferable burden. It could hardly be otherwise for those who reaped rich harvests but had to live at starvation's door, who weaved exquisite cloths, but had to go in rags, who built fabulous palaces, but who had to live in hovels.

Once it had put an end to exploitation, socialism turned the whole organisation of labour upside down. Being the unquestioned masters of the wealth of the nation, the working people know full well that they are not toiling for a handful of parasites, but working for themselves, for their community. The turning of forced into free labour will go down as socialism's greatest achievement.

From this stem all the principal changes in labour conditions.

First of all, labour becomes *easier and more productive*. This, of course, does not mean that anyone can take it easy under socialism and work at half-steam. Work is work and will always demand a certain expenditure of physical and mental effort, endeavour and conscientiousness. When talking of easier working conditions we have in mind the steady rise in labour-saving equipment. With the expansion of heavy industry, and engineering in particular, and the mechanisation of many operations in industry, transport and agriculture, the need for heavy manual labour diminishes, health-endangering jobs die out and life expectancy increases.

The pick and shovel have been mostly displaced by the excavator run by an operator and mechanic. Much of the heavy work in the timber industry is now performed by electric saws, high-powered tractors. Many trades have fallen by the wayside, like metal rolling, blast and open-hearth furnace charging. In engineering, metal processing and, to a certain extent, in the building trades carriers and loaders

have been replaced by cranes and hoists. In oil extraction, bailing workers and sludge pump operators have given way to drillers and operators of intricate machinery.

Similar changes have taken place in farming where the key worker is now the tractor or combine-harvester operator.

Heavy manual labour still remains in some branches of production. This, however, is only a temporary barrier which will be overcome. Then, heavy manual labour will be a thing of the past.

Mechanisation and automation of socialist production make it necessary to raise qualifications and give labour a more *creative character*. Working with a shovel and operating a crane are clearly not one and the same job. There cannot be much pleasure in wielding a spade all day long. And there is not much scope for creation. A crane operator, however, must not only master a certain minimum of technical knowledge. On his skill and agile manipulation depends the effective utilisation of the crane. He is encouraged to seek the most rational methods and devices for improving his job. There are many who seek to improve their equipment in this way. It is precisely the new labour conditions that have brought into being the mass movement for rationalisation and invention.

One of the most important changes in labour conditions under socialism is the establishment of *full employment*. In 1930, the last Labour Exchange in the Soviet Union put up its shutters and, from then on, all the younger generation knows of unemployment is what can be read in books and newspapers. Full employment also entails the opportunity of choosing a trade according to inclinations and to receive appropriate trade training.

The bourgeois critics of socialism used to say that unemployment was sure to appear with the development of socialist production. Today, we see that those calculations were unfounded. Production in the Soviet Union is moving along, mechanisation and automation advancing apace, and there is plenty of work for all. The number of factory and office workers was 70,500,000 in 1963.

In line with the increase in the forces of production *working hours are cut*. The worker gets more time to spend on recreation, education and his personal affairs.

Overtime in the Soviet Union is strictly limited. In 1961, all workers went over to a seven- or six-hour day. The cut

in working hours, incidentally, is accompanied by greater productivity (thanks to technical progress and improved production organisation) and higher wages.

Under socialism, great concern is shown for *labour safety measures*. In many branches of modern industry, the workers are particularly exposed to the danger of injury. Thanks to the solicitude of the socialist state in carrying out the maximum safety measures, the number of industrial accidents in the Soviet Union has been reduced to a minimum. Under the automated production of communism, the possibility of industrial accidents will be virtually excluded.

Last but not least, socialism establishes *equal rights in obtaining material remuneration in accordance with work done*.

TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS WORK. The present state of the productive forces is still inadequate to permit the immediate introduction of the communist principle of distribution according to needs, to satisfy the community's needs free of charge, irrespective of a person's contribution to the common good. How are material values distributed now, under socialism?

Should we not reward everyone with the same remuneration—a first-class engineer on a par with a cloak-room attendant, a diplomaed foreman the same as an apprentice?

This method of remuneration is called the levelling-up of wages and is the essence of a petty-bourgeois kind of socialism. It is not hard to imagine what would be the consequences. Workers would lose the incentive to increase their qualifications and productivity. What's the sense in exerting yourself, improving your skill, if you get the same standard wage anyway? Wages, in fact, would be very low and would even fall, since the worse people work, the poorer the community.

Levelling-up of wages would result in a pitiful parody on equality rather than equality itself. There would not be much satisfaction for the "have-nots" to know they are all "equal", that no one has more than anyone else. A gradual exhaustion of the community's wealth would result. Hence the Marxist-Leninist rejection of levelling-up under socialism.

The remuneration principle must facilitate a steady rise in the national product and, at the same time, ensure a constantly rising standard of living for everyone. Only under these conditions can an abundance of goods be created and

genuine equality be brought about so that everyone's requirements are met. Both these demands fully accord with the socialist remuneration principle: *according to the quantity and quality of work done.*

When we talk of the remuneration principle we must note that not all the social product is distributed. Before individual workers are remunerated, some deductions have to be made for social needs: for making up the used means of production, for complementing the funds of education, health, pensions, defence, government, etc. What remains is then distributed among the workers.

Public ownership of the means of production removes the antagonism between private and public interests. Every worker in socialist society is interested in satisfying public requirements—extending production, education, health, sick benefit, pensions, strengthening defence, etc. Consequently, the product made for satisfying public requirements is just as essential to every person as the product made for satisfying personal needs.

The remuneration principle puts an end to the iniquitous state of affairs in exploiting societies, where the exploiters appropriate the lion's share of material values produced. Under socialism, work, and work alone, is the only legitimate source of subsistence that determines a person's status in society.

Money, even big money, no longer serves as a passport to power or acts as a god to worship. Such things as a "rich legacy" and "marriage of convenience" have lost all meaning and are steadily disappearing from common language. In a socialist community, nobody can purchase a factory to exploit workers, or a ministerial post, or votes. Only personal ability and work for the good of the community serve as measures of a person's worth under socialism.

Payment on the basis of work done permits the implementation of another economic principle of socialism—*material interest in the results of labour.* The better a person works, the more he gives to society and the higher his wages. This gives people an incentive to raise productivity—the most essential prerequisite for the triumph of communism.

Material interest encourages people to make full use of their abilities and aids the development of moral *incentives to work.*

These incentives came close on the heels of the Revolution. Once work was free of exploitation it was fired by tremendous enthusiasm and an urge to build the new society and create a better life for all as rapidly as possible. When looking back over Soviet history we can hardly explain away the magnificent exploits in constructing the Dnieper Power Station, the industrial cities of Magnitogorsk and Komso-molsk by material interest alone. People were prepared to devote themselves to a great ideal. They were not driven by greed but by faith in the future and a desire to bring it closer. The same fire and determination inspired the thousands of Soviet boys and girls who took part in ploughing up the virgin lands and building the new industrial centres in Siberia and the Soviet Far East.

The combination of material and moral incentives is best seen in one of the most potent moving forces of socialism—*socialist emulation*.

SOCIALIST EMULATION. It is an expression of the new, socialist relations in the process of production, of the moral incentives engendered by the Revolution. It is the product of free creative labour. It embodies the people's concern for increased production, for greater communal wealth. The workers compete among themselves for fulfilment and overfulfilment of plans, for better quality and lower costs, for saving on raw and auxiliary materials, fuel and power, for higher labour discipline, for better qualifications, etc.

The first shoots of socialist emulation were the Communist subbotniks (voluntary work on Saturdays) started during the Civil War.

In the spring of 1919, workers at a Moscow marshalling yard decided on their own initiative to repair a steam engine in their free time without remuneration. This old engine now stands in a museum as material witness to the birth of the new, communist attitude to labour.

During industrialisation and collectivisation, there was a wide-scale movement of shock workers and Stakhanovites. In the last war shock-workers brigades sprung up at industrial enterprises to fulfil war orders ahead of schedule. After the war, a mass movement of innovators, rationalisers and inventors arose. Today, in the period of building communism, socialist emulation has climbed to a new, higher stage; the

movement of communist shock workers and communist labour groups has come into being.

The guiding principle of socialist emulation is help from the forward to the backward. This entails, above all, spreading experience and new methods far and wide so as to secure an overall rise in production. While, under capitalism, any new method or device is kept a closely guarded secret from competitors, under socialism it is precisely emulation that facilitates rapid and large-scale application of new methods. They are immediately given the utmost publicity.

Socialist emulation radically differs from capitalist competition which is based on the ruin and extinction of some to bring about the triumph and domination of others. By its very nature, socialist emulation rejects the capitalist law of the jungle. This by no means infers emasculation of the very concept "emulation". Those who achieve good results are accorded honour and respect. And even greater honour and respect go to those who put their achievements at the service of their comrades. In other words, emulation breeds victors, but never vanquished, for it is everyone's gain.

COMMODITY-MONEY RELATIONS UNDER SOCIALISM

WHY DOES COMMODITY PRODUCTION REMAIN UNDER SOCIALISM? Under capitalism commodity production exists because of the social division of labour and private ownership of the means of production. Under socialism there is no private ownership of the means of production. Why then, nonetheless, does commodity production have to remain?

For exchange to lose its commodity form, there has to be an abundance of material and cultural values so that everyone's requirements can be satisfied, free of charge. And so it will be under communism. Under socialism, however, the community is obliged to distribute products among its members according to the quantity and quality of their work. This necessitates a measure of account for labour and consumption. This measure is money against which goods can be bought.

Another reason for the preservation of commodity production is that socialist property exists in two forms. Since there

is exchange between the two basic property-owners, the state and the collective farms, a considerable part of production takes a commodity form, and production itself is commodity production.

Commodity production under socialism is quite distinct from that under capitalism, since there is no private property, no capitalists, big or small, and no exploitation.

Output, distribution and exchange do not just happen of their own accord. They are geared to a single state plan. The scope for commodity production is limited: the land, its mineral wealth, forests, the factories, railways and other important ingredients of social wealth cannot become commodities and are not subjected to commodity circulation. Labour-power, too, is no longer a commodity.

The distinction between socialist and capitalist commodity production is best seen in the operation of the law of value.

THE LAW OF VALUE UNDER SOCIALISM. Commodity production is always accompanied by the law of value. The latter dictates the need to produce and exchange goods in accordance with the socially necessary labour expended. When fixing prices, the state cannot go by the individual costs of one particular factory. It is guided by the socially necessary costs, i.e., those which are needed at a certain degree of development of the productive forces, with a given level of technology and the prevailing average level of skill and intensity of labour.

In the capitalist economy, prices are set spontaneously on the market, whereas under socialism they are planned (except those on the collective-farm market).^{*} Thus, the Soviet state, taking into account various economic and political considerations, proceeds, in the main, from the value of the finished product.

The price of a commodity should come as near as possible to its value, i.e., to the amount of labour expended on its production. The closer price is to value, the easier it is to determine the profitability of various pieces of machinery, raw materials, and the technological process of production.

^{*} Prices on the collective-farm market are not set by the state, but by supply and demand. The law of value here works spontaneously, although the socialist state does exert some influence on this market in the sense that the bulk of the products is sold through state trade at tightly controlled prices.

Let us imagine that an item can be made either out of material A or material B. The cost of material A is £1 10s, and B £4. The item made out of B will give 5 years service, that made out of A will last a year. Clearly, it is more profitable to make items out of material B. But if A's price has been set below its real value, and B's price above its value, it could well be that A is more profitable to use.

Manipulation of the law of value makes it possible to give a boost to the introduction of new machinery and improve labour organisation. All this leads to a steady growth in productivity and a lower value of products.

At the same time, the state may deliberately allow prices to diverge from values when this is in the public interest or the interest of social production. For example, the state may want to use part of the revenue from some sectors of the economy to step up development in other, more essential sectors. This is done, too, to control demand and hence the pattern of consumption. Prices on children's goods are often lower than their value, while prices on such articles as spirits and cigarettes are higher.

To sum up, we can say that under capitalism the law of value operates spontaneously and any divergence between prices and values is due to the anarchy of capitalist production. As opposed to this, any divergence between prices and values under socialism is purposefully arranged in the interests of the community.

MONEY UNDER SOCIALISM. Money must exist under commodity production.

Money is a commodity that has spontaneously developed from all commodities into the function of a generally acceptable medium of circulation (i.e., a commodity expressing the value of all other commodities).

The value of all other commodities can be equated with the money commodity. It acts as a *measure of their value*. Gold is such a money commodity. In most countries, including the Soviet Union, money has a gold content.

The social role of money in socialist and capitalist societies is quite different.

Gold carries out the function of *world money* to serve as a means of payment for the settlement of international balances. Under socialism, money cannot be turned into capital since factories, labour-power, land, power stations, etc., are

not for sale. Money in the former society is a tool of the spontaneous market forces. The socialist state purposefully uses money as a measure of general account and control over the production and distribution of goods, and as a measure of labour and consumption.

Money under socialism is an essential means of labour remuneration. When people buy the articles they need, they receive the share of the national product which corresponds to the amount and quality of the labour they have expended.

With the aid of money, the state is able to estimate an enterprise's efficiency, the amount of labour necessary for producing a certain commodity, the costs of raw and other materials, fuel, depreciation, management, transport, advertising, packing, etc. Keeping count of the work of a socialist undertaking by way of money is the most flexible method of administering the economy.

Money is an essential ingredient in trade; it performs the function of medium of circulation. Buying and selling would be impossible without it.

Money is put in circulation through the State Bank. Accounts between undertakings, institutions and organisations are settled by a system; sums of money are transferred by the Bank from one undertaking's account to that of another. The bulk of the State Bank's cash goes on wages, pensions, allowances, scholarship grants and payments for farm produce. And, through the trade network, the cash returns to the Bank.

The amount of money needed for circulation depends on the total sum of prices divided by the number of moves made by the same piece of money.

For example, if in a country the sum of all prices on goods realised in the course of a year amounts to 100 million units of money, while each piece of money makes on the average 5 moves, then the amount of money needed for circulation will be 20 million. If each coin completes 10 moves, an amount of 10 million will be needed. Thus, the quicker money circulates, the less money has to be put into circulation.

Money acts as a *means of payment* when wages are paid, when a state loan is received or repaid, when taxes and insurance allowances are paid, and when farmers receive their incomes, that is, whenever money is passed from hand to hand without anything being bought or sold.

It also serves as a *means of accumulation*. Factories and farms keep money and free cash in banks. The socialist state uses these accumulations and savings for extending production, for forming reserves and for providing other factories and organisations with credits.

PLANNING

ADVANTAGES OF PLANNING. Every Soviet enterprise is a cell in a single economic organism, united by public ownership of the means of production and linked by thousands of threads. Enterprises cannot operate under their own steam because of the absence of entrepreneurs—all enterprises belong to one boss, the people. And where there is only one boss, there exist common aims and a unified programme of action—planning.

The advantages of planning are innumerable. Take the construction of a new chemical plant. While the builders are putting up the walls, chemical engineering plants throughout the country are working on the equipment needed, oil refineries get orders to supply a certain amount of oil, railwaymen decide how best to deliver raw materials to the new plant and transport the finished product to the consumer. Chemical engineering colleges introduce additional material for students soon to graduate as designers, engineers and foremen; secondary and trade schools give future workers at the plant the appropriate skill and know-how.

Everywhere accounts are made down to the last detail, work is well-balanced and operations are set in line with everything else going on in the economy. And all this is achieved through planning.

Being able to plan economic development is one of the greatest assets socialism has over capitalism. For the first time in history, society can control production, can build it up in a deliberate and planned way, attaining thereby the utmost saving on labour. Society is forever free of the calamitous effect of competition, anarchy of production and economic crises.

Take a simple example. Let us imagine that certain socialist undertakings, working to a planned order, turn out more products than people need. The planning bodies make

adjustments for a switch-over of some undertakings to work on other products. The rest get the order to carry on so that supply is kept ahead of demand, thus obviating any shortages.

Why is economic planning possible under socialism and not under capitalism? Mainly because of the public ownership of the means of production, which allows the socialist state to plan its economy and consciously control production.

This conscious planning, however, does not mean planning arbitrarily. We cannot plan the erection of factories without providing them with a raw-material base. We cannot simply set a figure in the annual plan like a tenfold increase in shoes because there would be nowhere to obtain the leather.

Hence an important conclusion. Planning involves the operation of one of the objective economic laws of socialism—the law of *planned, balanced economic development*. If planning is to work efficiently, the given proportions (inter-relations) among the various economic branches must be constantly observed.

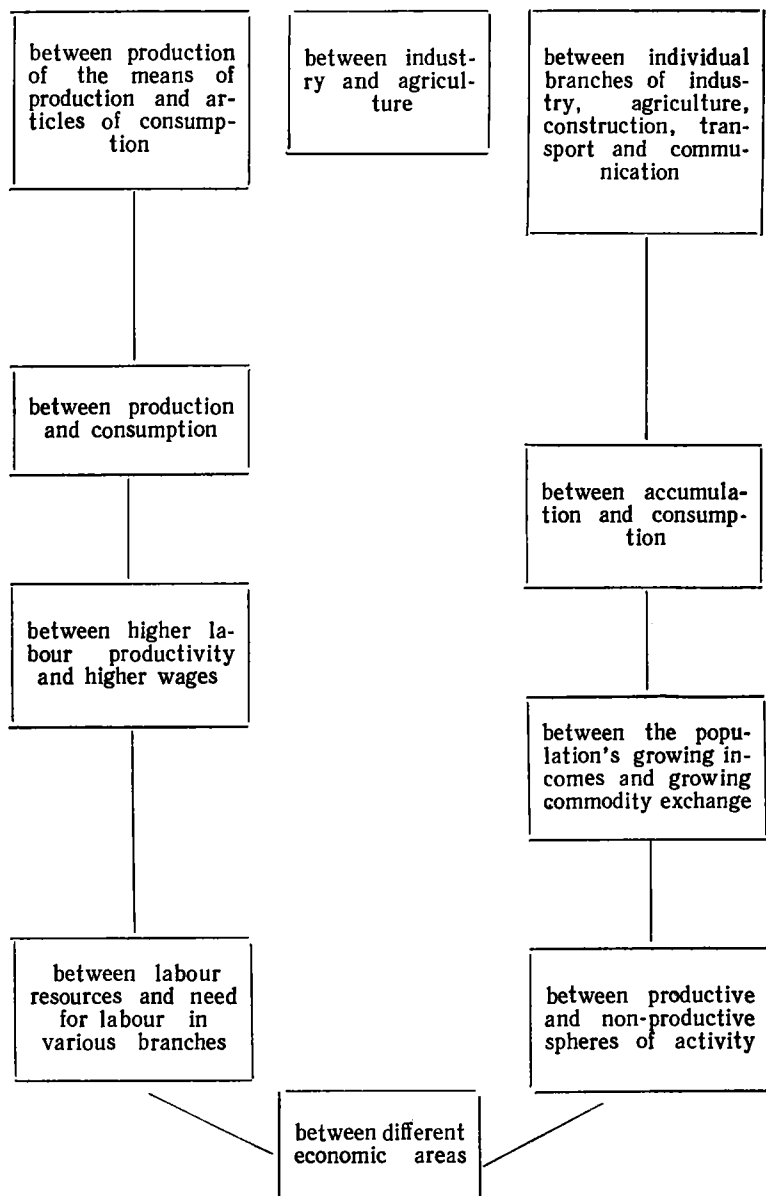
By using the law of planned, balanced economic development, the socialist state deliberately sets and maintains proportions in the economy, but this does not preclude the possibility of disproportions arising temporarily. The chief cause lies in miscalculation in planning and shortcomings in organisational work. They may also be caused by the forces of nature. If bad weather produces a poor harvest, industry may suffer from a shortage of raw material.

Thus, under socialism, disproportions do not stem from the economic system as they do under capitalism; they may result from human errors, natural calamities and are temporary; they do not lead to destruction of the forces of production, to unemployment or economic crises.

State reserves serve as a means of coping with any temporary disproportions that may occur.

METHOD OF SOCIALIST MANAGEMENT. Under socialism the people are masters of the whole of the public wealth and are, therefore, vitally interested in the way labour is used, in seeing that all available resources are used with maximum efficiency. The less wear and tear on machinery and the more saving is made on raw materials, fuel, electricity and

MOST ESSENTIAL PROPORTIONS IN SOCIALIST ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT



other means of production, the greater the output at the same expenditure.

Higher efficiency can come through higher productivity as well as economising on raw and other materials. In practising saving from both sources, some of the younger workers have instituted a "Komsomol money box", which now contains many millions of rubles from extra output.

The aim is not to store away money like Scrooge gloating over his pennies. It is not saving on money, metal or cloth that is made in the final analysis, but on the most precious of all the production ingredients—labour. And this is all done for the sake of higher living standards. By these economies the community gains more houses, schools, rest homes and other social amenities.

The planned socialist economy is extremely efficient, but this does not necessarily mean that losses never occur. Some factories, building sites, and farms still over-reach themselves, misuse their raw materials or are slow to implement new techniques.

Strict economy under socialism means a thrifty attitude to all property, a steady rise in productivity and technical standards, a systematic reduction in labour expenditure, economical utilisation of raw and other materials, fuel, electricity, fewer waste products, and so on. In short, strict economy under socialism is a method of socialist management by which a larger amount of high-quality products is turned out with the smallest expenditure of means of production and labour. The best way to attain this is by running the economy *on a self-supporting basis*.

SELF-SUPPORTING ENTERPRISES. The self-supporting state enterprise receives from the government buildings, machinery, stocks of raw materials, fuel and cash. It is responsible to the government for the maintenance and correct utilisation of the means of production. Once it has been given its target figures, the enterprise sets about organising its work independently.

The self-supporting enterprises establish contact with other organisations. For instance, a cotton mill arranges with a state farm to buy its cotton, pays for the carriage, sells the finished product to a cotton-cloth producing factory which, in turn, sells the ready cloth to a trading organisation, and so on. Moreover, contracts are signed with other enterprises

for the delivery of equipment, fuel and raw materials, and with the undertakings which are to purchase the products. The contracts set the delivery terms: quantity, assortment, quality of the product, delivery date, price, payment dates and rates, not forgetting clauses covering any violation of these stipulations.

The self-supporting enterprises conduct their own accounts: they use the receipts from sales to reimburse their expenditure on raw materials fuel, wages and salaries. The balance is to give them their income.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION. Socialist enterprises have their own thermometer enabling them to gauge the economy's potential. This thermometer is the *costs of production* which show how the money goes in turning out a given product, i.e., how much a given enterprise spends on its own account.

Costs of production may be worked out by estimating expenditure on raw and other materials (grease, paint, etc.), fuel and electricity, depreciation (i.e., allocation for the cost of the wear and tear of buildings, machinery and tools), wages, social insurance and administration costs. Having obtained the aggregate amount of expenditure, this figure is divided into the total output figure, thus obtaining the cost per unit of production. Thus, *costs of production constitute the enterprise's expenditure on production and on the sale of its output.*

If costs of production are inordinately high at a particular enterprise, the managers and the whole collective want to know the reason why so as to remove any deficiency. In one case, it may be due to extravagant raw material expenditure. In another, it may be inefficient employment of equipment. In a third, it may be inflated administrative expenses.

Nevertheless, the question remains of how to ascertain where costs are high or low, and what factors are responsible for their reduction.

At leading enterprises production costs are usually lower than at the more backward, because the leading ones are quick to introduce new machinery and methods, thereby pushing up labour productivity, saving on materials and applying the most progressive types of materials, for instance, metal may be replaced by plastic, the design of a finished part may be constantly improved. All this enables it to cut costs. If the undertaking is slower off the mark, labour

productivity drags, and raw and other materials are not utilised efficiently, then production costs will be relatively high.

The capitalist factory-owner who cannot keep up with the streamlining inevitably ends in ruin. In the Soviet Union, however, no enterprises can "go to the wall", since they all belong to one rich and powerful boss—the people. Party and government bodies, popular control organs, the press and the Soviet public keep a watchful eye on the operations of all enterprises, render assistance, take note of any shortcomings and sound a warning if things seem not to be going in the right direction. If a manager proves to be incapable of running his works properly he is switched to another job. If he is guilty of negligence, inefficiency or attempting to trick the government, he is liable to very severe punishment.

In such a vast and constantly growing economy as the Soviet Union, difficulties and clashes are bound to occur. And the Communist Party makes no attempt to gloss over them. It points them out and does all it can to find a solution, thereby all the while improving the methods of socialist accounting and, above all, economic efficiency.

REPRODUCTION

RATE OF GROWTH. People cannot exist without food, clothing and shelter. The means of production have to be renewed as well; raw materials have to be obtained, fuels have to be extracted; worn-out machines and instruments have to be replaced. All this signifies that the most important condition for society's existence is the constant renewal of the process of production, or *reproduction*.

If production does not increase in magnitude, but remains at the same level year after year, that is *simple reproduction* which implies making up the spent material values in the same proportions as before. If the volume of production is increased, that is *extended reproduction*. The community not only makes up the spent material values but also produces extra means of production and consumer goods.

Relations of production are reproduced as well as material values. Under capitalism, on one side stands the capitalist and on the other the wage-labourer. The capitalist reproduc-

tion process engenders and intensifies exploitation of the workingman and constantly forces him to sell his labour-power for the benefit of the capitalist.

Socialist reproduction consists in a renewal of the relations of comradely co-operation and mutual assistance. Moreover, these relations are not simply renewed but improved, because socialism grows into communism.

Since the economy develops in step with the demands of socialist economic laws, it can attain an accelerated rate of extended reproduction far in excess of that possible under capitalism.

In 1963, Soviet industrial output was 52 times higher than it was in 1913.

From 1918 to 1963 Soviet industry grew three times faster than American industry in the same period.

The Soviet Union is today producing more than the U.S.A. and holds top place in the world for gross output of iron ore, coal, coke, various engineering products, cement, window panes, prefabricated reinforced concrete, timber, saw-timber, woollens, animal fats, sugar and certain other products.

The Soviet volume of industrial output in 1963 amounted to approximately 65 per cent of the American figure.

Let us now look at the laws governing socialist reproduction and how the new values are distributed.

The sum of new values created in a given period of time, say, a year, is the *total* (or gross) *social product*.

In its natural form, the total product is divided into means of production and consumer goods. Corresponding to this there are two large groups of production: *Department I—production of the means of production, Department II—production of consumer goods*.

In their natural form, the products of Department I are quite unsuitable for personal consumption. They comprise coal, cement, steel, machinery, electric power engines, various types of raw materials, and are intended for use again in the production process as implements or objects of labour.

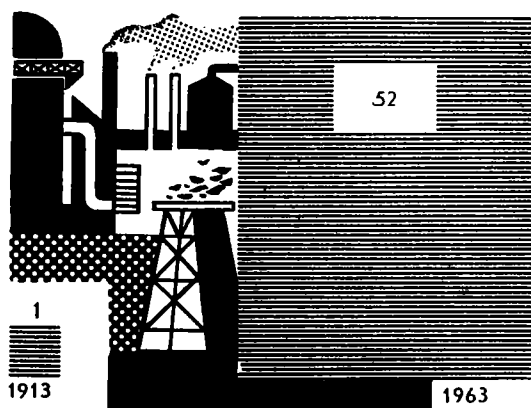
The products of Department II are foodstuffs, footwear, clothing, furniture, kitchen utensils, etc. They are only suitable for personal use and never for production.

What conditions must be satisfied for all enterprises to have enough raw materials, fuel and equipment, for all citizens to be able to find in the shops the commodities they

desire, and, as a consequence, for the process of reproduction to be able to continue further as a result of all this?

Department I must provide enough products not only to compensate for the consumed means of production (worn-out machinery, buildings, expended raw materials and fuel, etc.), but also ensure a further expansion of the entire production.

Department II must create enough consumer goods to satisfy the requirements of all citizens as fully as possible. But the rate of production increase and technical progress in



Industrial output in the U.S.S.R.

the various branches of Department II mainly depends on the quantity and quality of the means of production received from Department I. Thence the law of *the priority development of producer goods over consumer goods*.

If we examine the total social product from the point of view of its value, it will be equal to the sum of values created in all spheres of production. It can be divided into three parts. The first part of the total social product goes to cover the means of production spent in both Departments. The second part goes to personal consumption. And the third goes to expand production, to maintain the non-productive sphere, to create reserves, etc. The second and third parts together comprise the *national income*.

NATIONAL INCOME AND THE BUDGET. In material form, the national income consists of means of production and consumer goods—raw and other materials, machinery, tools, bread, sugar, clothing, footwear, books, and so on. Since commodity-production prevails under socialism, the national income has a monetary as well as a natural form.

The national income is created by workers in so-called productive employment: industry, agriculture, building, transport, etc.

Workers engaged in the non-productive sphere—the health service, education, the arts and literature, the armed services, etc.—do not create the national income, although their work may be just as useful and necessary to the community. All expenditure in the non-productive sphere, therefore, is covered by the national income.

In the Soviet Union, the total national income is split between the *consumption fund* and the *accumulation fund*.

The consumption fund is earmarked for satisfying personal and public requirements. It is further divided into the wage fund for those engaged in productive work and the social consumption fund, which provides the salaries for scientists, teachers, doctors, etc., and goes to pay for the social services and the upkeep of the civil and armed services. The consumption fund comprises three-quarters of the national income.

The accumulation fund is divided into three parts: the first goes to the expansion of production, the second to the construction of schools, hospitals, nurseries and houses, etc., and the third forms the reserve or insurance fund. The accumulation fund makes up the remaining quarter of the national income. It is extremely important since without it there can be no extended reproduction.

All the funds, except those which are directly disposed of by socialist enterprises, are centralised or brought together by means of the *state budget*.

The income and expenditure programme of the budget is the basic finance plan of a socialist state. It indicates from where to take the means and where to direct them. The budget is compiled for one year and submitted by the government for examination and approval to a session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

The budget receives money from the socialist enterprises

as part of their net income and from collective farms as income tax. Taxation of the population plays a very minor role in the budget income—7.8 per cent in 1964, for instance.

Now let us see where budgetary expenditure goes. In December 1963, the Supreme Soviet approved the 1964 budget, the revenue totalling 91,925 million rubles, and expenditure 91,385 million rubles. With the excess amounting to 540 million rubles, 38,746 million was channelled into the financing of new factories, mines, power stations, railways, communal enterprises, etc., that is, into economic development. Then came 32,800 million rubles spent on science, education, health, physical culture, pensions, allowances, grants, etc., that is, on social and cultural needs. About 13,300 million rubles were allotted to military defence (14.6 per cent) and 1,110 million to the civil service.

If we make a comparison with U.S. budgetary expenditure, we find that in the 1963-64 fiscal year, military spending took up 77,800 million dollars, or 80 per cent of the total expenditure of the Federal Budget. Pensions, unemployment benefits, health programme under government auspices accounted for a mere 5.6 per cent, and education—for 1.6 per cent of budgetary expenditure for the same year.

The Soviet budget is a budget of peace. The Soviet Government is compelled to spend the necessary means to strengthen the country's defence potential, because of the continued threat of imperialist aggression. The fact remains, however, that the overwhelming proportion of budgetary expenditure is earmarked for economic and cultural development, for providing better living standards for all.

LABOUR RELATIONS

EMPLOYMENT AND THE SERVICE RECORD. Every Soviet citizen has the right to work and is presented with every opportunity of finding the employment that suits him best. What are the rules and regulations governing labour relations in the Soviet Union? Everyone goes through the same procedure in registering for work. The new hand and the management conclude a two-way *work agreement*.

This binds both parties to abide by certain regulations. The employee is expected to do his job according to his trade (fitter, electrician, etc.), qualifications (position on the rating

scale) and appointed post (economist-engineer, for example). He must also stand by the prevailing order at the enterprise. The management is obliged to ensure the agreed and hygienic labour conditions and to pay the corresponding remuneration for work done. As wages, the working day and holidays are covered by law, they do not come under the work agreement. In certain circumstances, the agreement must cover other contingencies, such as day-work stipulation when the employee has evening classes, or his trial period.

In the latter case, the agreement is finally drawn up when the worker under trial is approved. The trial period must not exceed six days for a factory worker, a fortnight for an office worker and a month for a manager. Graduates of trade and specialised secondary schools and colleges are accepted without trial, but only in accordance with their trade, qualifications and appointed post, indicated in their testimonials.

The management issues all its employees with a *work-book*. The same applies to collective farmers whose work-book records their farm-work and gives them the right to receive part of the farm-receipts correspondingly.

The work-book contains a record of a worker's promotion to a higher rating, transfer of employment, remuneration and any honours he may receive. Disciplinary measures are not included in the book so as not to infringe on the worker's rights. The work-book is therefore a type of biography of the worker's life at the factory or office. Hence the importance of keeping the work-book in proper order. Above all it comes in handy in determining the worker's *service record*.

There are two basic types of service record—the overall and the continuous. The *overall service record* covers all the work an employee has done, irrespective of the manner of the work and gaps in between. It also includes study hours in technical school, college or university, and advance courses if employment preceded study. The *continuous service record* takes into account continuous employment at a given undertaking or within a given system. In a number of cases the prevailing legislation provides for the maintenance of the continuous record during transfer from one enterprise to another.

The overall service record is considered in fixing an old-age or invalid pension. The continuous service record comes into account when prescribing sick pay.

Soviet legislation provides a good protection for all factory and office workers from illegal dismissal. Only in exceptional circumstances can a management dismiss one of its employees. This must come within the law and must receive the consent of the trade union. When a worker leaves work on his own initiative, he is obliged to give the management a fortnight's notice.

COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT. In a similar fashion as above, the relations between the workers as a body and the management are subject to strict regulations. The local trade-union committee acts on behalf of the workers, engineers and office employees. Every year the trade-union committee concludes a two-way agreement with the management, or a *collective agreement*.

This agreement enumerates the measures to be taken for achieving the best work results in fulfilling and overfulfilling the plans. Further, it makes the management responsible for providing the best possible conditions for every worker to maintain or push up his output and also to fulfil obligations undertaken in line with socialist emulation, so that at the same time all workers can improve their general and technical education. Also included in the agreement are safety regulations and application of any innovations bred in the industry.

The agreement sets the size of allocations for housing and cultural services, sick pay, rest and holiday home accommodation, extra medical care and out-of-school activities for children.

Everyone participates in drawing up the collective agreement and has an opportunity to say their piece and make definite proposals. The factory and office workers themselves check on the complete and timely fulfilment of obligations marked in the agreement, the progress of the work of the enterprise and improvement in the employees' living standards. Discussion of issues concerning the work or working conditions helps develop the workers' initiative and draws them into the running of the enterprise.

SAFETY REGULATIONS. Safe work is brought about by technical improvements, by mechanising heavy and labour-consuming jobs, by removing the causes of possible accidents and occupational diseases. Workers are supplied, where necessary, with free protective clothing and equipment (goggles, masks, face guards, etc.) so as to prevent or cut to a minimum

the harmful effects of chemical substances, excessive temperatures and humidity, and so on. In certain places—chemical plants, for instance—workers receive special food, free of charge. Those engaged on harmful work have a shorter day and extra holidays.

It is binding on all managements to see that their employees are conversant with the general regulations at the enterprise and familiar with the equipment they use. Every worker must know the safety regulations and some have to sit special examinations.

Supervision over the observance of safety regulations is the function of government agencies (ministries, departments, the courts) and of the trade unions. Every enterprise has its labour safety commission and elects its public inspectors to supervise the observance of safety regulations and industrial hygiene. If any safety measure is infringed, work may be called to a halt in any part of the enterprise. Persons found guilty of violating the regulations are liable to severe penalties.

All this applies, in the main, to collective farms, too. On most farms nowadays there are many machines, electrical devices and chemical substances. The farmer has to be protected. And in handling livestock, too, the current hygiene and safety standards must be observed.

Besides the general regulations covering the entire labour force, labour legislation includes additional labour-safety measures for *women* and *juveniles*.

Women are banned from heavy and injurious work, like dealing with molten metal and many jobs in the chemical, printing and tanning industries. Particular attention is paid to maternity and child protection. Expectant mothers are given a paid leave of 112 days, almost a third of a year. Dismissal of expectant or unmarried mothers with a child younger than one year old is forbidden.

Juveniles can work as soon as they are sixteen, or fifteen in certain circumstances. Before they commence work, they must furnish a special medical certificate. From sixteen to eighteen a juvenile is not permitted to work more than a six-hour day, while getting the same rate of pay as an adult for a full day's work. In those cases where the juvenile is allowed to work at the age of fifteen, he is restricted to a four-hour day. On certain jobs, anyone under eighteen is

forbidden both work and training. Further, juveniles are not liable to work nights or overtime. Factory and office workers under the age of eighteen are granted summer holidays for a period of one consecutive calendar month.

To facilitate juvenile employment, all undertakings reserve places for school-leavers with industrial or specialised training. Young workers combining their job with study enjoy certain privileges: a shorter day or week, time-off for study, etc.

LABOUR DISCIPLINE. To maintain the magnitude and rhythm of socialist production, the strictest *labour discipline* is demanded.

Discipline necessitates honesty and conscientiousness: workers must be punctual, must not leave early, must devote the whole working time to their job and official duties, take great care of tools, lathes and machinery, keep the workshop and factory premises clean and tidy and hand over their work to their relief in full operating order. A conscientious worker aims at keeping waste down to a minimum and turning out products only of the highest quality.

Under socialism, discipline is enforced by organising production to the utmost, by means of persuasion, by encouragements given to individual workers and to whole collectives. These encouragements include public thanks, diploma awards, inscriptions in the Book of Honour and on the Board of Honour, best worker awards for given trades, bonuses, valuable gifts, etc. Workers who distinguish themselves in their job are honoured with orders or medals of the Soviet Union. The two highest awards are the titles of Hero of Socialist Labour and Lenin Prize Winner.

Any violation of labour discipline may be punished. Absence without sufficient reason, constant lateness, early leaving, negligence in respect to materials or equipment can all lead to a public reprimand. The offender may be transferred to lower-paid work or removed to a job with less responsibility for a period of up to three months. The law usually catches up with slackers and those who cause unnecessary waste. If the management sees that the offender does not respond to help or warnings, or if it is apparent that the offender's further employment is detrimental to the best interests of the work and the collective, then the only way out is dismissal—but only as a last resort and with the

permission of the trade union. Those who break the law and deliberately wreck machinery are handed over to the courts.

A high level of discipline is also required of collective farmers. The Model Regulations of the Collective Farm compel farmers to work honestly and conscientiously, to abide by internal regulations and to fulfil the production tasks and public duties assigned by the farm management board and team leaders.

LABOUR DISPUTES. It sometimes happens that a worker or group of workers come into conflict with the management. The first and compulsory body to hear a labour dispute between workers and management is the *labour dispute commission*. It is formed from an equal number of permanent representatives of the management and the trade union. The commission is qualified practically to examine all labour disputes, although a worker may appeal directly to a court of law. And if the case concerns the dismissal of a person on the managerial staff, a shop superintendent or a foreman, it is referred to a higher body. The commission must view all disputes within five days of being informed. A labour dispute is only considered settled when both the worker and the management come to a mutual agreement.

If the worker is dissatisfied with the commission's decision, he can appeal to his *factory or office trade union committee*. This is the second instance. All factory and office committees must hear the complaints within seven days of being informed. In the event of dissatisfaction with the second instance, the worker may appeal to the *People's Court* nearest to his workplace.

The second category of labour dispute concerns the more rare occurrence of discord between employees and management, over, say, output rates or the ratification of any measures in the collective agreement. These disputes are of a rather different kind since they arise out of the fixing or altering of working conditions. An attempt must first be made to find some agreement between the two parties. If this fails, the dispute is referred to a higher trade union body and economic agency.

LABOUR PAYMENT. Every socialist community works to the principle of payment in accordance with the quantity and quality of work done. How does this operate in practice?

The amount of work done is decided on by *rate* or *quota setting*. Here we distinguish between time-quota and output-quota. *Time-quota* enables us to establish how many hours, minutes or even seconds a worker has spent in working on an article. *Output-quota* enables us to establish how many articles a worker makes in a shift, hour, so many minutes or seconds. In other words, quotas set the worker his task, give him a guide to achieving the best results, rather than to average performances.

Knowing the amount of work done is insufficient for determining wages. We must also have a true measure of quality, obtained through the *grading system*. This makes wages dependent on qualifications, skill and knowledge, on the character, complexity and danger of the work (working conditions), and also on the national importance of a sector of the economy. In other words, distinction is made between skilled and unskilled, heavy and light work, and account is taken of the complexity and responsibility of the job.

In line with his trade and qualifications, every working man is allotted a given *grade*. Grade 1 covers those engaged on the simplest work and so on up the scale as qualifications rise. All school-leavers with trade experience are graded. Juveniles who have passed their school-leaving exams and have performed a test of their qualifications are awarded a school certificate and a diploma indicating their trade or speciality with the grade attained. Rural school-leavers who have passed their trade tests receive their tractor driving licence.

The higher a worker gets in the *grading scale*, the greater his wage. Thus, an employee with the fifth or sixth grading receives about twice as much as one with the first grading. Skilled labour is more socially useful for it brings the community more products of higher quality per unit of time. The size of the wage per hour or day is decided by the *wage rates*, which make up about 70 to 80 per cent of the total wage, the rest coming from payment for overfulfilling the output-quota. The same scale and wage rates operate for all branches of industry.

Details concerning each trade can be obtained in the *handbooks of grades and qualifications* for each sector. The handbooks contain an explanation of the methods used in working out each grade and how the wage is fixed. They

give an indication of what a member of a given grade is expected to know and do. If, by way of example, a third-grade worker wants to move up to the fourth grade, the handbook will tell him what knowledge he will be expected to show and what he will have to do. These handbooks have to keep up with the particular features of every branch of production, new techniques, technical progress and labour organisation, the appearance of new kinds of work, a higher level of qualifications, etc. In this way, the handbook creates incentives to keep the level of skill always on the move.

The most complete and direct link between wages and results is provided by the *piece rate of payment*, used where a definite rate can be set and the amount of work done can be estimated. In the Soviet Union, the majority of industrial and building workers, and virtually all agricultural workers work on the piece rate. By the *time rate*, wages are estimated according to time taken. It applies to those jobs where the amount of work done cannot be estimated and an output rate cannot be fixed, as, for example, in a workshop where the work is automated or done on a conveyor belt. The time rate also covers all the managerial staff, office workers and engineers. For the purpose of pushing up material interest in the work, *bonuses* are given.

On the collective farms, payment is made on a somewhat different basis. Labour expenditure may be measured by a unit called a *labour- or workday unit* which should not be confused with a working day. A workday unit is a relative unit of payment on collective farms. It is based on piece-work and determines what share the farmer receives from that part of the farm income which goes to remuneration. All farm jobs are reckoned in workdays depending on how complex, exacting and socially useful they are.

In the course of one working day the farmer may earn several workdays, a single workday or less. As remuneration, he may be paid partly in kind and partly in cash. Additional payments are made for good results, overfulfilment of the plan for a given crop yield or extra animal and dairy produce, for reducing costs and raising quality, etc. Size of extra payments is the concern of the farmers themselves. Where this system is in operation, during the year, until the final accounts are made, the farmers receive advance payments.

Today, many farms have dispensed with the workday method of payment and have introduced a guaranteed monthly cash payment.

Both in industry and agriculture, remuneration is so arranged that every worker or farmer feels a direct relationship between his conscientious and socially useful labour and his personal betterment. Higher wages go to those engaged on the most responsible and exacting jobs. This makes for the greater concentration on these jobs of the more skilled workers and thereby benefits the socialist economy as a whole. In perfecting forms of labour payment the Soviet Government is mainly concerned with seeing that productivity grows at a faster rate than wages. Otherwise, production cannot be extended or the standard of living raised.

As the economy advances, the organisation of labour is constantly improved and, where necessary, adjustments are made in the standards of labour relations. Scientists keep a constant watch out for ways of improving the remuneration systems, output-quotas, etc.

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF SOCIALISM

During Soviet years the pattern of social life has altered beyond recognition. Forty-eight years ago landowners and capitalists ruled Russia. Now there is socialism. *What does this mean?*

In social life: exploiting classes and exploitation have completely disappeared. Soviet society consists solely of working people—industrial workers, farmers and intellectuals. The basis has been laid for steadfast friendship among all the people and nationalities inhabiting the U.S.S.R.

In political life: universal democracy has been effected. All Soviet citizens have the opportunity to participate in running the state and the economy. There has been a sharp decline in the necessity to use compulsion on the part of the state. With the advent of socialism, administration is more and more effected through personal conviction. People are educated in a socially conscious spirit.

In cultural life: the scope of culture has grown immeasurably. The entire character of a worker has changed. So also has his attitude to life and his moral standards.

COMMUNITY OF WORKING PEOPLE

SOCIALIST MEN AND WOMEN. By 1964, the Soviet population exceeded 226 million, out of which three-quarters (74.3 per cent, to be exact) were factory, office and professional workers (and their families), and a little over a quarter (25.6 per cent) were collective farmers and co-operative handicraftsmen. Self-employed farmers and handicraftsmen not in co-operatives amounted to under 0.1 per cent (including their families).

The *working class* are mainly employed in socialist industry, that is, the leading sector of the economy. They are

responsible for creating the means of production and manufactured consumer goods. Workers are also employed on state farms.

The working class supply the farmers with the basic farm implements and mineral fertilisers. And at state undertakings, the workers process farm produce. According to an estimation by Soviet economist Academician Strumilin, every ton of grain produced contains approximately an equal amount of farm and industrial labour.

Due to their key role in industry, their greater political experience, their higher level of discipline and social consciousness, the working class hold the leading position in society. The party they created, the Communist Party, is responsible for the organisation and direction of social development.

The effort to turn the Soviet Union into a leading world industrial power and to create a modern industry, encouraged a rapid growth in the numerical strength of the working class and altered their structure. Prior to the 1917 Revolution there was a greater preponderance of light and food industry workers. Today, it is the workers engaged in engineering, metal processing, heavy industry, coal mining and oil extraction who hold first place in the composition of the working class.

Technical progress has brought in its wake an upsurge in the level of skill and has engendered many new trades. A similar boost has been given to the general cultural and literacy level. Before the Revolution, more than one-third of the factory workers were completely illiterate, whereas today, about 44 per cent of all workers have seven- or ten-year schooling behind them, or have higher educational qualifications. This percentage exceeds the 50 per cent mark in metallurgy, chemistry and printing. Most workers combine their jobs with evening classes in ordinary or trade school, college or university.

"The worker of today," writes turner Laletin from the Kirov Works, in his book *Working Means Daring*, "is a man with a broad outlook on life. He combines remarkable traits of a factory hand with the precise knowledge of a good engineer. His aim is to constantly perfect production techniques, to fight for everything that is new and progressive."

Socialism has transformed the character of the other class in socialist society, the *peasant-farmers*, as well.

The workers sent thousands of their best sons and daughters to help out with collectivisation in the early thirties. They assisted in setting up the first co-operatives, they helped agriculture onto its feet, they rendered a hand in changing the whole way of life of the backward countryside. Anyone who has read Sholokhov's *Virgin Soil Upturned* will appreciate the heroism of the times through the trials and triumphs of Communist Semyon Davidov, who left his job at the Putilov Works to give a hand in pushing through collectivisation. From then on, whenever agriculture was in difficulties, the peasant-farmers could always rely on help from the towns. In 1955, for instance, nearly 25,000 workers responded to the Party appeal to take over key posts in agriculture.

In regard to the nature of their labour and their level of education, the farmers are steadily catching up with the workers. They work collectively on large-scale socialist farms with a great deal of modern machinery at their elbow and many of the latest scientific achievements at their command. Completely new trades have appeared on the farms—combine harvester operators, mechanics, power engineers, electricians, fitters, radio operators, and so on and so forth. More than one-quarter of the collective farmers have seven or ten years of schooling, or higher educational qualifications. Their social consciousness is also becoming more apparent, to the ever-greater exclusion of the proprietary instinct and religious influence.

Industrial growth, urban development and the gradual transformation of farm-work into mechanised labour are causing a steady drop in the proportion of peasant-farmers in the population.

The other group in society are the *intellectuals*. They form a social group rather than a class inasmuch as they occupy no independent position in social production. The intellectuals, as the most educated section of the population, put their minds at the service of the workers and farmers. They mostly comprise experts engaged in industry, agriculture, science, technology, culture, health, government and social administration.

Back in 1926, there were only some 2,700,000 people engaged in mental work. By 1937, this number had jumped to

some 10 million, and in 1964, it stood at over 24 million. This testifies to the rapid growth in the numerical strength of the intellectuals, a growth which will continue, for it answers the requirements of economic and cultural development and accords with the aim to raise the educational standards of the whole nation. Within this growth, a special boost is being given to scientific and technical personnel.

At the same time, there are intellectual occupations which are falling by the way. As a result of recent measures to improve administration, there has been a big fall in administrative and clerical personnel—from 13.8 per cent of the urban labour force in 1953 to 9.2 per cent in 1962.

Soviet intellectuals come from the people, that is to say, they have come from among the workers and peasant-farmers.

Socialism has fostered a vast array of scientists and scholars who have brought world renown to Soviet science.

NEW SOCIAL RELATIONS. Class relations in socialist society present a new picture.

Let us take the key sector of human activity—*production*. As we have noticed above, common ownership has removed the domination of one class over another. Workers, peasant-farmers and intellectuals have a real chance to devote their labours to the socialist community and reap a deserved reward. They are all, and in the same measure, interested in economic and cultural advance. Well-being and social status depend on an individual's work, abilities and knowledge, not on his class affiliations.

As far as *the political side* of life is concerned, attachment to the working class or peasantry holds out no privileges whatsoever. All Soviet citizens, irrespective of their class or social group, enjoy equal rights in running and choosing the administration. There exist no strict barriers between classes; a worker can become a farmer if he so desires, and a farmer can take up work in the town, and workers and farmers can take office jobs, etc. This mobility is an expression of the rapprochement of the two classes.

No advantages attach to class affiliation in the *cultural field* either. Socialism has brought education within reach of everyone, has created favourable conditions for the blossoming of everyone's talents in all departments of science, technology, culture, literature and the arts.

Because socialism is a community of working people, it is free of class struggles. People are united by their common interests. There lies the source of Soviet society's strength.

Throughout history, mankind has been beset with irreconcilable class conflicts. In the capitalist world today, a very fierce class struggle is being waged. Socialism has ushered in a new source of strength, one offering untold possibilities—*the socio-political and ideological unity of the entire nation.*

When speaking of the friendly co-operation of the whole nation, special mention should be made of the *alliance between the workers and farmers*, with the working class holding the key position in the sense that they exercise their political and moral authority. They do not hold any special privileges in this alliance.

Socialism has also brought other significant changes in social relations. Never again will there be any opposing interests between mental and physical labour, between town and country—evils engendered by exploiting societies. The social grounds no longer exist for the situation where engagement in mental work gave special privileges to the propertied classes, and where the town could exploit the countryside.

Contradictions, however, do exist in social relations under socialism but they are overcome as classless communist society is built.*

UNION OF NATIONALITIES WITH EQUAL RIGHTS.
The first country to take the socialist road turned out to be the most multinational state in the world. There are over 120 nationalities in the Soviet Union.

Nations are formed through the fusion of nationalities living on one territory, speaking the same language and having elements of a single culture. As production develops and economic relations are set up between members of certain akin nationalities, a community of economic life begins to take shape and a nation is born.

A nation is a stable community of people with a common language, territory, economic life and culture.

When the working class and its Communist Party came to power, they offered the working majority in every nation in Russia the right to independently determine their own future. The people of pre-revolutionary Russia suffered acutely from

* More about this on pp. 245-68.

both class and national oppression. Trust among the different nationalities could therefore only be established by offering them the right to self-determination.

The Communist Party carried out Lenin's plan for forming Soviet republics and bringing them into a single Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on an equal and voluntary basis. On December 30, 1922, the First Congress of Soviets unanimously ratified the Declaration and Agreement on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Nevertheless, actual equality among nations was not to be achieved at one go since the various peoples stood at widely differing stages of social development. Side by side with the highly civilised nations were the backward nationalities and tiny ethnic groups. And in most areas of Soviet Asia, feudal relations were dominant. In the Soviet Far North, in several parts of Siberia and the Soviet Far East there even remained tribes living under the patriarchal system. To bring the backward up to the level of the most civilised people, economic and cultural advance had to be greatly accelerated. That was the course steered by the Communist Party. Results obtained can be gleaned from the following figures. From 1913 to 1963, the output of large-scale industry increased 52-fold for the Soviet Union as a whole; for the Kazakh Republic the increase was 78-fold, for the Kirghiz Republic 82-fold. In all non-Russian republics, the number of qualified specialists rose in every branch of production.

Another blessing of socialism is that it ensures the renaissance of all peoples who were previously backward. Approximately fifty different peoples have created their own written language and developed their literature under socialism. School lessons are conducted in the languages of 65 nations and nationalities, and the republics have their own science academies, numerous research institutes, national theatres and film studios.

Many of the previously backward peoples, relying on the fraternal assistance of the other peoples, especially the Russians, have accomplished the giant step from the Middle Ages to socialism, so by-passing the capitalist stage, in just three or four decades. "Ten centuries have been squeezed into some forty years," as a French journalist once put it.

There is mounting interest in Soviet experience among the progressive forces in the newly-emergent states of Asia,

Africa and Latin America. Many of their statesmen declare that mankind should pay homage to the justness and humanism of socialism, if only for the fact that it has done away with national oppression and raised the formerly backward peoples to such a high level of culture. Sharing his impressions of Uzbekistan, the Indian writer Pandit Sunderlal said that if Uzbekistan has become a highly developed country under the Soviet system—which it has—then the Soviet system is the best in the world.

Thus the Russian October Revolution and socialism made it possible for developing countries to take a non-capitalist path of development. Socialism overcomes both national exclusiveness and national isolation. In other words, it establishes fraternal, good-neighbourly relations between nationalities.

THE SOVIET FEDERATION. The U.S.S.R. is a federal state. To leave it at that, however, is omitting the most important. Nations and nationalities are united by their common destinies and purposes, bound together in a single socialist family of workers. The *Soviet federation* makes it possible to reconcile the rights and sovereignty of every national state formation with the national interest.

The Union government agencies look after economic and cultural development over the whole country. The Soviet Union has a single citizenship, budget and financial system. The armed forces also come under a single command.

Meanwhile, each *Union republic* has its own Constitution and may enter into direct relations with any states and exchange diplomatic representatives. Each republic draws up its own economic programme and budget, runs the industrial undertakings within its jurisdiction, is responsible for housing, public services, health, social security, primary, secondary and higher education, etc.

Several nationalities reside within a number of republics. If a nation or nationality lives as a more or less compact group, its state structure takes the form of an *autonomous republic, autonomous region* or *national area*. Within its territory, the autonomous republic also looks after its economy and culture, has its own state bodies and Constitution.

Socialism conducts a relentless battle against any relics of bourgeois ideology in national relations—of nationalism and chauvinism. Socialist internationalism has triumphed.

The Soviet federation embodies the fraternal community of socialist nations and nationalities.

This union of socialist republics has given rise to such a remarkable driving force of Soviet society as the *friendship of the Soviet peoples*. This friendship is the most important source of socialism's strength and invincibility. The Soviet people cherish it as their most treasured possession, seeing in it the earnest of further success.

THE SOVIET SOCIALIST STATE

Every Soviet citizen can be proud of the fact that he is an equal member of the world's first *socialist state of working people*.

FUNCTIONS OF THE SOVIET STATE. As soon as it came into being, the new socialist state was faced with the task of consolidating the transfer of power into the hands of the workers, of squashing the resistance of the exploiters. With the elimination of the exploiting classes, however, the functions of suppression fell out of use.

The main functions of the Soviet state, like every other socialist state, stem from the immense tasks of building socialism and communism. First of all, they include the function of economic administration and organisation. The state is the collective owner of the basic means of production, and, as such, it ensures the planned development of all sectors of national economy, organises labour and is concerned with raising the standard of living. As long as remuneration is paid on the basis of labour, the state is responsible for the control over the amount of labour and consumption, keeping a strict account of all public property, and safeguards it from thieves and embezzlers.

The next important function, one which is closely bound up with that above, is concern for education and culture. The state is responsible for general education, for organising the activities of scientific institutions, of theatres, museums, film studios, publishers, etc. As it has to satisfy the cultural needs of the population, the state does a large amount of work in inculcating the spirit of communism in the working people. The function of keeping law and order, of protecting the rights and interests of the citizens plays a big part in state activities.

Being humanist by its very nature, the Soviet state is a tireless fighter for the consolidation of peace throughout the world. In this respect, its main functions include strengthening fraternal co-operation with other socialist countries, lending support to the national liberation movement, promoting economic and cultural ties with all countries, irrespective of their social and political system. As long as the danger of imperialism launching an assault remains, the Soviet state is obliged to perform the responsible function of supervising the country's defence.

All these functions help to indicate that the state is a political organisation, acting in the name of the people, in their interests and with their active participation. Socialism gives real meaning to the concept of democracy and turns the state into a tool of genuinely popular government. This is not to say that socialist democracy is born in a ready and finished form, like Athene springing full-grown from the brain of Zeus. The system of popular government grows and develops along with the development of society. Theory and practice are all the time advancing new democratic forms, new political institutions which facilitate an ever wider participation in running the state, improvement to the administrative structure and the stamping out of bureaucracy and formalism.

The key to Soviet government, the most important base for socialist democracy, is the Soviets.

THE SOVIETS OF WORKING PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES. All power in the U.S.S.R. belongs to the working people through their representative bodies, the *Soviets of Working People's Deputies*. They operate everywhere, in the city, workers' settlement, village, hamlet, *aul* and *kishlak*, in every area, region and republic. The Soviets comprise the political foundation of the state in that all state bodies derive from them, receive their powers from them and are controlled by them.

Being organs of genuinely popular government, the Soviets display certain vital distinctions from bourgeois state institutions.

In the first place, they are highly *representative*: they enjoy the support of the whole adult population (140 million voters), draw into administration really wide sections of the population (they have about two million deputies, some three million people work in their various standing commissions

and over 20 million participate in the whole of the activities of the Soviets).

In the second place, they are not only *governing* but also *working* bodies in that their deputies adopt decisions at the sessions and in the commissions, and then, either themselves or through the executive committees, see that they are carried out.

Finally, they are *sovereign* organs, deciding all vital political issues, controlling all society's wealth, administering economic and cultural matters and being organs of local popular self-government.

Complete representation of popular interests is guaranteed by the democratic *electoral system*.

The key to electoral democracy is to be found in *universal suffrage*. Everyone of eighteen or over is entitled to vote, irrespective of social origin, nationality, sex, education, religion, residence, property status and past record. The only exceptions are the insane.

Persons of eighteen or over are eligible for election to the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies, twenty-one and over to the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics, and twenty-three and over to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. All Soviet citizens can therefore take an active part in running the state from a comparatively young age.

SUFFRAGE IS EQUAL AND DIRECT. All citizens go to the polls on an equal footing—one person one vote. Deputies to the local Soviets up to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. are elected in a direct and straightforward manner.

Nobody can impose their will on the electorate since voting is *secret*.

The Communist Party goes to the polls in close alliance with non-Party people from the trade unions, co-operatives, the Y.C.L., cultural and other public organisations. All candidates are put up for election by the people. Mass organisations are responsible for controlling the election campaign. If we include all members of electoral commissions, canvassers and special representatives of the voters, we have a total exceeding 20 million.

Deputies to the Soviets are not professional politicians. The overwhelming majority come straight from the factory, farm, college or scientific laboratory. They are therefore close to the common people. They make regular reports about their

respective Soviet and the public at large. Deputies also come under the constant control of their constituents and, in the event of bad work or misbehaviour, they can be recalled.

At every subsequent election, the composition of the Soviets is renewed by not less than one-third. This not only makes for better functioning of the Soviets but ensures the influx of new blood. It means that millions of people get a chance to run the country.

THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R. The highest power in the land is the *Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.*, popularly elected for a term of four years on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

The Supreme Soviet is invested with all power in the people's possession and examines and decides the most general and vital questions of home and foreign policy. It approves state economic plans and the budget, issues state laws, adopts the Constitution and, where necessary, introduces modifications, supervises its observation, forms the Soviet Government and alters its make-up if need be. Further, it elects the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. and appoints the Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R. It represents the Soviet Union in international affairs and maintains inter-parliamentary relations, ratifies all important treaties with foreign states, bears responsibility for the organisation of the armed forces, and, finally, exercises supreme control over the activities of all government agencies and officials.

Deputies to the Supreme Soviet are the nation's pride, the envoys of the workers, farmers and intellectuals. Out of the present 1,443 deputies, 646 come straight from the factory or farm. One-third, or 390, are women and there are 56 nationalities represented. In age composition, it is younger than any bourgeois parliament: 209 deputies are under 30 and 405 under 40. At the 1962 elections, some 70 per cent of the deputies were new.

The Supreme Soviet has two chambers—the *Soviet of the Union* which represents the over-all interests of the whole populace irrespective of nationality, and the *Soviet of Nationalities*, expressing the specific requirements and interests of every nation and nationality, stemming from the particular features of the economy, culture and way of life which have grown up over the ages. Both chambers have equal rights.

They both share the privilege of introducing legislation. A law is only considered passed if accepted by both chambers. And both set up standing and interim commissions whose job is to prepare questions for discussion in the Supreme Soviet.

Sessions for debate of important affairs of state take place regularly. At a joint sitting of the inaugural session of each convocation the *Presidium of the Supreme Soviet* is chosen to be responsible for day-to-day administration.

The Presidium comprises a President, Vice-Presidents for the Union republics, a Secretary and other members. Being part of the Supreme Soviet and performing some of its functions in-between sessions, it may therefore be said to act as the supreme organ of the Soviet state as well. The most important decrees of the Presidium are put forward for ratification to regular sessions of the Supreme Soviet.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE U.S.S.R. The *Council of Ministers*, the Soviet Government, is elected at a joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. It is accountable to the Supreme Soviet and, in-between sessions, to the Presidium.

The Council of Ministers looks after economic and cultural development, sees to the budget implementation, is responsible for law and order, and safeguards state interests and civil rights. It is also responsible for the general direction of foreign relations. The armed forces also come under its jurisdiction. On most questions, the Council of Ministers formulates its decisions in the form of decrees or orders, but on particularly vital issues, joint decrees are given out by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers, which are binding on all government and Party bodies.

The Council of Ministers co-ordinates and gives direction to the work of ministries and departments. In order to ensure the national republics a say in settling all issues coming within the competence of the whole Union, the Council of Ministers includes in its composition chairmen of republican Councils of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. is the highest organ of administrative and executive power in the land.

REPUBLICAN AND LOCAL BODIES. The supreme body in a Union republic is the republican Supreme Soviet. It issues

laws appertaining to the republic, approves the republican budget, and so on. Like the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., it elects its own Presidium whose terms of reference are determined by the republic's Constitution. Unlike the Union Supreme Soviet, however, it only has one chamber.

The highest administrative and executive organ at republican level is the republican Council of Ministers.

In the autonomous republic, supreme power is wielded by its Supreme Soviet, which elects a Presidium, forms a Council of Ministers and chooses a Supreme Court.

Special mention should be made of the local councils, or Soviets, as they are called. Soviets of Working People's Deputies at all levels are elected for a two-year term—from the hamlets, villages, cities and districts up to the regions, autonomous areas and territories. They are concerned with all political, cultural and economic affairs affecting the undertakings, institutions and organisations within their competence. They compile the local budget, supervise the administrative organs subordinated to them, ensure the observance of law and order, civil rights and laws. One of their key concerns is the improvement of communal services.

Local Soviets elect executive committees as their executive and administrative organs. For day-to-day administration of economic and cultural matters, the Soviets usually set up planning commissions and departments for various branches of economic and cultural affairs. It is through the Soviets of Working People's Deputies that wide sections of the population are continually being attracted into state administration.

THE COURTS AND THE PROCURATOR'S OFFICE. Control over the strict observance of law and order and the rights and interests of all citizens is the duty of all government agencies. There are bodies, however, which deal exclusively with these issues. These are the *courts* and *procurator's office*.

As we shall see below, the Soviet courts are founded on democratic lines.

The main link in the juridical system is the *People's Court* which functions in every district and city. People's judges are elected for a period of five years by secret ballot and by universal, equal and direct suffrage. All judges are accountable to their electors and may be recalled by them. Along-

side the full-time judges work the people's assessors. They do their job on a voluntary basis and are elected for a term of two years on a show of hands at mass meetings. All civil and criminal cases are adjudicated collectively.

At all levels, courts are elected for five years at a time, at the end of which there has to be a re-election. At the head of the judiciary stands the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. which is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for a term of five years.

Judges are independent and subject only to the law. All judicial procedure is conducted in the language of the Union republic, the autonomous republic and autonomous region concerned. Everyone who takes part in legal proceedings may speak in his native tongue. With the exclusion of an insignificant number of cases, often specified by law, all court proceedings are open to the public. Every defendant has the right to a defence counsel.

Although the social roots for crime have been removed in the Soviet Union, violations of the law still occur. Crime is combated by severely punishing dangerous criminals and using public measures of reformation against first-offenders who can be put back on to the straight and narrow by the influence of the collective. Public participation in comrades' courts, public order squads, etc., are also very important.

The procurator's office, the special body for seeing that the laws are strictly complied with, has the same purpose as the courts but uses different methods.

It institutes proceedings and carries out investigations in connection with crimes committed. It also gathers evidence against the accused and their confederates and keeps watch over the legality of the proceedings in all other judicial bodies. The court of law deals with the case passed on to it by the procurator's office, and the procurator acts as prosecuting counsel for the state.

The procurator's office has the job of establishing that laws are uniformly interpreted throughout the country, despite any local difference or even influence. Supervision by the procurator's office is distinct from that performed by the usual government agencies. In carrying out supervision and departmental control, the latter have the right to interfere

in the economic activity of the organisations under their control, and, in a number of instances, do in fact apply disciplinary and administrative measures. The procurator's office, on the other hand, has the right and obligation only to protest, when the law is broken, against an act of the executive or administrative bodies of the local Soviets or departments, to start up criminal, disciplinary or administrative proceedings against officials or citizens—depending on the concrete circumstances.

All agencies which come under the procurator's office comprise a strictly centralised system independent of local government and administrative bodies. The procurator's office is headed by the Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R. who is appointed to his post for a seven-year term by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. He, in turn, is responsible for appointing the republican, territorial and regional procurators. The area, district and city procurators are appointed by the republican procurators and approved by the Procurator-General. All procurators are subordinate to those above them, thus ensuring that tasks entrusted to them are carried out rapidly and to the letter of the law.

No one may be arrested without the serving of a court order or without the Procurator's sanction. The procurator's office safeguards the personal immunity of every Soviet citizen.

SOVIET LAW AND ORDER

SOCIALIST LEGALITY. The Soviet state guarantees the precise execution of all laws. That is what is meant by *socialist legality*. In the early years of Soviet government, Lenin taught the Soviet people to carry out Soviet laws to the letter in a conscientious way and to keep a vigilant eye out for any violations. Both the Party and the people see to it that Lenin's trust is not betrayed. Soviet laws give a reliable protection to the people's civil rights and liberties.

They express the will of the nation, regulate economic and other social relations, maintain socialist law and order, establish the rights and duties of all citizens and officials, and safeguard public and personal property.

The whole complex of laws comprises *socialist law*, which may be split into several branches.

Soviet law is humane in the extreme. Its main aim is to put public order on a sound and just footing, to educate people, to create an atmosphere in which anti-social behaviour is not tolerated by anyone.

Socialist law helps bring into existence new relationships as well as consolidate those prevailing at present. The law inculcates in citizens an appreciation of the requirements of socialist law and order, an awareness of the interests of the state and the community, and demands the conscious observance of all rules and regulations. It therefore instils in citizens proper *legal concepts*. The law concerns both the nation as a whole and every individual. In the struggle for a communist way of life, use is made of the power of the law, force of public opinion and the influence of the collective.

The whole system of socialist law and order pursues the aim of ensuring the best conditions for unrestricted development of the individual. This is most directly realised through the individual's rights and duties.

UNITY OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES. Most Soviet people were born and grew up in Soviet times. They have therefore become accustomed to enjoying the broad social rights which reflect the community's concern for each person throughout his life.

When a youngster reaches the age of seven, he goes to school. After school, millions of girls and boys continue their studies in secondary specialised or higher educational institutions. Every Soviet citizen is assured the *right to education*.

Before the Revolution, virtually four-fifths of the children had no chance of attending school. Nowadays, all children go to school. In size of student body the Soviet Union heads the world. All education expenses are paid by the state. Most students receive grants and enjoy a number of privileges, and in the boarding-schools children are taught and maintained at state expense.

Once he has accumulated knowledge and chosen his profession, the Soviet citizen has the opportunity to put his powers and talents to good effect. The *right to work*—the most important of all social rights—is guaranteed by the economic system of socialism which precludes crises and unemployment.

Soviet people enjoy full freedom of choice of any occupa-

tion or trade, of individual creativity if this is not at variance with community interests.

Working people receive paid holidays and have at their disposal excellent health facilities, rest homes, tourist camps, sports centres, parks and social clubs. In the event of sickness, all workers receive material assistance (up to 90 per cent of earnings) out of the social insurance fund. All medical services are free. The *right to rest and recreation* and *the right to medical care* are also assured.

Every family and citizen has a right to a well-appointed dwelling from the state, or to participate in co-operative or individual house building.

Everyone over a certain age is eligible for a pension. There are, today, 26 million old-age pensioners and pension-receiving war invalids in the country. Since the war, the government has boosted pensions a great deal. Thus, the Soviet state guarantees *the right to material maintenance* in old age and in the event of sickness.

The social rights of the Soviet citizen are protected by the state. Any attempt to infringe on them for national or racial motives is a criminal offence. The law guarantees personal immunity.

Together with social rights, Soviet citizens enjoy broad *political rights or liberties* such as *freedom of expression, the press, assembly, organisation and demonstration*. Political liberties are guaranteed not only by the law, but also by material means. Printing works, publishers, newspapers, radio, cinema and television belong to the working people and their organisations. In a nutshell, all freedoms are guaranteed by the entire socialist system.

Are there any restrictions on political liberties? Yes, and this is only natural. The Soviet press, for instance, would never lend their columns to the propaganda of war, violence or moral decadence. All propaganda in the nature of national enmity or misanthropy is banned. In other words, anything which prejudices popular and socialist interests has no place in socialist society.

Equal rights and equal duties; what are the duties the state imposes on its citizens?

First of all, everyone is *obliged to work*, and to work honestly and conscientiously, because honest endeavour strengthens socialist society and assists its advance.

Naturally, those who work well, strive to care for the results of their labour. Everyone, therefore, is *obliged to care for and strengthen socialist property*, the foundation of all well-being.

Soviet citizens are also *obliged to strictly abide by all state laws*, to conduct their lives in accordance with socialist standards of behaviour.

It is the sacred duty of all Soviet people to defend their country. Every young man, on attaining the age of 18 or 19, is liable for national service.

Civil rights are inextricably bound up with duties. Soviet citizens are not only responsible to the community, the latter is also responsible to its citizens. This mutual responsibility is a typical feature of the development of socialist society.

Furthermore, every right is a duty, and vice versa. Work is a right and a duty. So is education: eight-year schooling in the Soviet Union is *universal and compulsory*.

Duties are not counterposed to rights. They are performed out of profound conviction, not out of compulsion.

MASS ORGANISATIONS

Unions and societies help to raise the activity of Soviet people, encourage the formation and manifestation of collective principles and organisational abilities. Mass organisations are revolutionary unions of the working people and have their own rules and regulations. The biggest of these are the trade unions, the Young Communist League, the co-operatives, the scientific, technical, sports and cultural societies. In effect, they embrace the whole adult population.

TRADE UNIONS. Throughout their employed life, all factory and office workers are connected with the trade unions. Every industrial undertaking, building site, state farm, institution and educational establishment has its trade union organisation.

The total membership runs into 66,000,000.

Lenin saw in the trade unions an organisation which could educate, instruct and involve the working people in running the economy, a school of management, a school of communism.

How do the trade unions perform their tasks?

As we have already noted, the factory or office trade union committee concludes a collective agreement with the management. It has the right to take part in the elaboration of the production programme (put it forward for discussion among members and demand changes in it), hear the manager's report on economic activity and, if necessary, to put before a superior economic body the question of a negligent manager's removal or his subordination to disciplinary measures.

The unions draw their members into the socialist emulation movement: competition within their works and with other undertakings. They organise the shock workers' movement and communist labour teams. Along with the economic councils they keep an eye out for inventions. And, what is particularly important, they see that the best working methods are spread far and wide, and that workers give each other a helping hand wherever possible. The union committees concern themselves with helping and encouraging their members to improve their qualifications. One of the means of involving the workers in production management is the regular *production conference*, arranged jointly by the trade union and the management.

Another concern of the trade unions is the improvement of their members' standards of living. In conjunction with the factory managements, the works trade union committees distribute accommodation. They have at their disposal medical institutions, rest and holiday homes, tourist camps, and so on. Under their supervision children are allotted places in nurseries and school children are offered facilities for spending their summer holidays. They also are responsible for control over state and co-operative trade, public catering and consumer service.

Union members have a number of advantages. Thus, for example, they are paid a higher sick benefit from the state social insurance fund at the unions' disposal. This fund is formed almost exclusively from contributions from undertakings and institutions; factory and office workers have to make no contribution whatsoever. Union members are the first to get rest and holiday home accommodation, and passes for their children to nurseries and Pioneer camps. When it is needed, the trade union can use its funds for offering material assistance to its members.

The trade unions are a gigantic cultural force. They run Palaces of Culture, social clubs and libraries.

THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE. Every other adult in the country today has at one time been a member of the Young Communist League—the Komsomol.

The Komsomol has written many glorious pages into the history of socialism.

At the time of the Civil War, the First Komsomol Congress declared in October 1918: "The world counter-revolution that has got a hold in the South will meet with stubborn resistance from us. All our revolutionary zeal, all our young forces will be given to fight it. . . . Not a step back! Long live Soviet power!" All Komsomol members volunteered for the front.

Came the years of peaceful construction. In 1924, the Sixth Komsomol Congress proclaimed in a manifesto: "Neither for the sake of rhetoric, nor from a desire to bear the best of all names, and not only to revere the memory of a great man, have we come to this decision. No, we adopted our decision so that all young people from all the nations in the U.S.S.R. might join their vanguard—the Young Communist League—in displaying one will and firm resolve to learn to live, work and fight in the Lenin way, and to carry out Lenin's behests." The Komsomol members took their places in the front line of new battles—this time in work. At the Party's call, they put up factories and electric stations, they laid railway tracks across the parched steppe and burning desert, they built new cities. In the countryside they selflessly fought for collectivisation, they stormed the heights of science and culture.

War came once more. Many thousands of youngsters volunteered for the front. "I want to go into battle a Komsomol," read many of the applications. From the 11,000 soldiers honoured by the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, 7,000 were Komsomol members or ex-members. Altogether, some 3,500,000 Komsomol members were decorated during the last war. Among the young people in partisan units were many Komsomol members. The names of the fearless and brave sons and daughters of the Komsomol inspired the whole allied world. In their brave deeds they have made their names immortal: Victor Talalikhin, Yuri Smirnov, Alexander Matrosov, Gafur Mamedov, Liza Chaikina, Marija Melnikaite,

members of the Young Guard and the Partisan Spark underground organisations.

"Work enough for yourself and the comrade at the front," was the Komsomol slogan during the war, and hundreds of thousands of youngsters poured into the factories straight from the school desk.

None of the immortal courage of the Komsomol members went unnoticed by the nation. Three times the Komsomol received the Order of Lenin, once the Order of the Red Banner of Labour and the Order of the Red Banner.

It is a natural feature of youth to strive to create something—the task is to direct this enthusiasm into the right channels, for the good of the community. Thus, in the Soviet Union, the young people today are building new blast and open-hearth furnaces, the biggest electric stations in the world, giant factories and mills. During the current Seven-Year Plan the Komsomol has undertaken the construction of many key projects, including 132 chemical plants. And in the sphere of agriculture, the Komsomol is the Party's right hand in bringing about a powerful upsurge in farm production. Wherever you look, you will find Komsomol initiative.

At present, the Komsomol has a membership of over 21 million young girls and boys, who exert a great influence on the rest of youth. Finally, the Komsomol is directly responsible for the children's organisation—the Young Pioneers. It assists the Party to educate the rising generation and to follow the example set by the Party.

CO-OPERATIVES. The collective farm is not only an *economic* unit of the Soviet farmers, it is also their *mass* organisation.

The *collective farm* is a co-operative, that is, a voluntary and comradesly association of farmers on the basis of collective production and self-administration. At their general meetings, the collective farmers themselves decide such vital questions as election of the board and the chairman, the inspection commission, admission and exclusion of members, arrangements for using farm funds, procedure for payment and amount of work to be done, determination of the minimum of workdays necessary and the size of subsidiary allotments, etc. On the large farms, there are a number of questions the farmers decide at meetings of their representatives and at team meetings. Standing commissions function for the

general meeting. This enables all the collective farmers to participate in discussion of all topics connected with farm life.

The farmers have every opportunity to take the initiative in planning and organising their farm affairs. They independently decide questions appertaining to village amenities, the construction of nurseries for the children, schools, hospitals, social clubs and libraries.

There are also *consumer co-operatives* which see to the smooth operation of trade in the countryside, arrange the marketing of farm surpluses and cater for the rural population. These co-ops have a membership of over 43,000,000 shareholders. The housing construction co-op is at the service of town and country for making improvements to living conditions.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS. There exist many other mass organisations which serve the population according to profession or some other special interest (hunting and fishing societies, for example). Certain of them cater for scientific and cultural activities, like the Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge, societies for educational, medical and other personnel, many scientific and technological societies, societies of rationalisers and inventors, unions for writers, journalists, composers, artists, cinema workers, architects, etc.

Others are responsible for physical culture, making known the basic rules of medical hygiene among the population, preserving gardens and parks, etc.

A whole mass of voluntary societies rally the Soviet people for the peace struggle and the development of ties of friendship with other countries. These include the societies for cultural relations with foreign countries, the Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Women's Committee and the Soviet Youth Committee.

All these and many other voluntary societies draw millions of people into the running of public affairs.

Throughout their activities, the mass organisations pursue one aim—to develop popular initiative and activity, to aid the Party and government in grappling with the tasks involved in building communism.

The Party of the Soviet People

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, established by Lenin, has led the nation to the triumph of socialism and is now setting the pace for the building of communism. By its ideas and activity the Party exerts a powerful influence on the entire course of history and acts as a major political force in the present epoch.

Thanks to the inspired leadership of the Communist Party along untrodden paths in building a new life, the Soviet people have been able to raise their country to the summit of social progress. The Party's political strength lies in the fact that it is guided by the vital interests of the common people, is the expression of the hopes and aspirations of the millions, and is based on Marxism-Leninism.

THE MIND, HONOUR AND CONSCIENCE OF THE EPOCH

THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE. With the complete and decisive triumph of socialism, the consolidation of the social, political and ideological unity of Soviet society, the Communist Party, too, changed. The historic mission of the working class in building communism had become a task for all Soviet citizens. The Communist Party, therefore, had been transformed from a party of the working class to the party of the whole nation. This being so, the Party continues to express the working class ideals and aims in the period of full-scale communist construction as well.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the militant, tried and tested vanguard of the Soviet people, uniting on a voluntary basis the advanced and most politically conscious section of the working class, collective farmers and intellectuals.

The Party was born at the turn of the century as the most advanced and organised section of the Russian proletariat. The Party produced such noble revolutionaries and able organisers as Kalinin, Kirov, Dzerzhinsky, Sverdlov,

Orjonikidze, Frunze, Kuibyshev, Bubnov, Petrovsky, Shaumyan, Chubar, Blücher, Myasnikov, Postyshev, Krupskaya, Ulyanova, Zemlyachka and a host of others. Like the stars in the sky, the names of the Party's heroic sons and daughters will eternally glitter in the history of the labour movement and the struggle for socialism and communism.

The popular nature of the Party is most of all reflected in its composition. Out of the present membership (including candidate membership) of 12 million, more than half (52 per cent) are workers or farmers. Among the rest, most are engineers, technical experts, farm specialists, teachers, doctors, etc. More than 70 per cent of the Communists are employed in production, work at factories or mills, on building sites or in transport, on state or collective farms. In national composition, the Party embraces over 100 nationalities.

In recent years it has had an average annual increase of half a million. This growth bears witness to the immense authority enjoyed by the Party and its firm bonds with the widest sections of the population.

The Party has deep national roots and this is evident from its policies and aims. Acting on this, the Party leads the people, reflects their interests, learns from them and consults them on every key issue. This indissoluble unity between the Party and the people, the latter's trust in its vanguard, forms the source of the Party's inexhaustible strength.

THE TWENTIETH CONGRESS. One of the great turning points in Party history was its Twentieth Congress held in February 1956. It took stock of the development of the Party and the nation since the death of Lenin in 1924. It also tackled many of the burning theoretical and practical issues affecting home and foreign policies, and mapped out the prospects of the nation's advance. Further, the Congress restored and consolidated Lenin's principles of collective leadership in Party and government affairs, and heightened the Party's role in the organisation and education of Soviet society. All this made possible a sharp upsurge in the activity of the Party and the nation at large.

Decisions made at the Twentieth Congress helped accelerate the tempo of growth. The whole administration of industry and construction came under review and was completely reorganised, thus affirming the socialist principles

of management. Local government bodies were given more autonomy. Mass organisations like the trade unions and the Young Communist League were allowed more scope in national affairs. The Party took steps to assure the further promotion of socialist democracy. And lastly, the Soviet Union adopted a more forthright and active attitude in world affairs.

The success of the nation and its subsequent results were also due to the open and courageous condemnation of the cult of Stalin, and the resolute measures taken to overcome its consequences.

The cult of Stalin was taking shape in the thirties. At that time the Soviet Union was building socialism in extremely harsh conditions. The fight against the exploiting classes, against enemies at home and abroad, necessitated a constant alert and the centralisation of administration. Stalin, who headed the Party Central Committee, used the power concentrated in his hands for the enhancement of his own personality and, in so doing, took the road to gross violation of socialist legality and Lenin's standards of Party and government life.

He did much to sow suspicion and this paved the way for repressions against many innocent people. In an attempt to justify the mass repressions, Stalin, in 1937, advanced the idea that as the Soviet state advanced, the class struggle within the country was bound to intensify. This was theoretically unsound since after the elimination of the exploiting classes and the victory of socialism, social, political and ideological unity was assured.

The negative aspects of Stalin's character came to the fore, being responsible for the personality cult. Back in 1922, Lenin had made note of his off-handedness and capricious nature. Soviet achievements went to Stalin's head and he began to dispense with everyone else's opinion and to consider himself infallible.

While he was alive, the fight against the cult was extremely difficult. In a situation where all socialist successes and war victory were associated with the name of Stalin, any attack on him would have had no popular backing and would have been branded as anti-Soviet. Moreover, much of the evidence of Stalin's abuse of power and socialist legality only came to light after his death, after the exposure of the crimes of Beria

and the re-establishment of Party control over the state security organs.

All the same, the personality cult did not and could not alter the nature of the socialist system, its economic and political basis. The millions of working people remained the decisive motive force of Soviet development. The Party continued to be a live and active organism, and local Party organisations carried out valiant work. Of course, the cult put a brake on the country's advance and prejudiced its international prestige. Undoubtedly, the U.S.S.R. could have gone ahead at a faster and more propitious rate. Nevertheless, even during the cult period, the Soviet people and the Party attained imposing successes and moved forward along the path to socialism.

The Party's great job in abolishing the personality cult came up against stiff resistance from the factional anti-Party group of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and several others, who sought to set the Party back on the forms and methods of leadership in practice under Stalin. This group opposed all measures that were being carried out by the Central Committee along the lines of the 20th Congress. At the June 1957 Plenary Meeting the Party Central Committee exposed and ideologically defeated the anti-Party group which had no support from the Party and the people.

At the January-February (1959) Extraordinary Twenty-First Congress the Party adopted the Seven-Year Plan for economic development and formulated the fundamental principles of building communism. The Congress took note that the country had entered upon a new period—the period of full-scale communist construction.

As a result of the significant changes which had taken place since the Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses, and on the basis of the Party's vast theoretical and practical experience, the Central Committee saw the need to work out and adopt a new Party Programme.

THE AUTHORITY OF PARTY LEADERS. No class in history has ever attained success without leaders capable of organising the movement and guiding it. The working class, conducting a hard and unflagging battle throughout the world for complete freedom, requires authority.

The Communist Party possesses experienced and tested leaders, able to perform the task of guiding the economic,

political and cultural construction of communism. The highest authority in the Party is that of its collective leadership—the Central Committee. It is the Party's heart and brain. It draws up the policy of the Party and the state, determines economic and cultural development, is concerned with the development of socialist democracy and education of the working people in a communist spirit, with the fortification of the country's defences, and with the maintenance of friendly ties with other nations. *The Party Central Committee is the collective leader of the Party and the Soviet people, a battle H.Q. for ideological, political and organisational guidance over communist construction.*

To the Central Committee are elected the best and most experienced Communists, well-versed in Party, industrial, agricultural, cultural, scientific and military affairs.

PROGRAMME AND RULES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANISATIONAL WEAPON. At every distinct stage along its historical path, the Party has advanced its Programme, in which it lays out, in a scientific way, its major aims and the means for their attainment. The Programme underlies all Party activities.

In adopting its first Programme at its Second Congress in 1903, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party called on the working class and all the working people of Russia to fight for the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy and, then, of the bourgeois system and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In February 1917, the tsarist regime was swept away. In October 1917, the proletarian revolution abolished the capitalist system and created the Soviet state.

In adopting its second Programme at its Eighth Congress in 1919, the Party promulgated the task of building a socialist society. Like the first, the second Programme was drawn up with Lenin's participation and was successfully carried out.

In October 1961, at its Twenty-Second Congress, the Party adopted its third Programme.

What is striking about the new Programme is that it is a concrete, scientifically substantiated plan for building com-

munist. It provides clear and precise answers to the question of what is communism and points to the principal ways of getting there. For the first time, the theory of communism is allied to a practical sketch for its attainment. The Programme marks a fresh stage in the development of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The supreme goal of the Party, as written into the Programme, is to build a communist society, on whose banner will be inscribed: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"—a principle in which every working person has an interest. The new Programme is a programme for all Soviet people.

The Programme's fulfilment will exert a tremendous influence on the whole course of world history, on the outcome of the peaceful competition between the two systems. The Party regards communist construction in the U.S.S.R. as the Soviet people's great *internationalist task*.

The *Party Rules* were established on the basis of the Programme. They are its *organisational weapon* in the battle for communism; they determine Party membership, the rights and duties of Communists, the organisational structure of the Party and the principles of inner-Party democracy.

A LOFTY CALLING. People are not born Communists; they become so through education and experience. A person joins the Party ranks out of conviction and appreciation of the just cause for which Communists are fighting.

Communists are people pure in mind, strong in will and zealous in their devotion to the communist cause. Where the work is hardest, there you will always find Communists. Communists have marched at the head of the working people and led them into battle to overthrow the power of the capitalists and landowners. They raised the nation to the defence of the revolutionry gains. And in the fantastically difficult conditions during the early Soviet years, Communists were always where the furnaces were being built, the cities were under construction, the collective farms were being organised, where the fate of socialism was being decided. And in the war, they were the first to throw themselves under nazi tanks with a handful of grenades and crash their burning planes into enemy columns. After the war, they mobilised the population for restoring and boosting the economy.

Kirill Orlovsky was 23 years old when he joined the Party.

His whole life has been a model of undying service to the Party and the people. In 1918, he headed a group of partisans which drove the German forces out of the Bobruisk area. In the twenties, he fought against the White Polish forces. In 1936, he fought with the Republican forces in Spain. And in 1941, he was back in the forests of Byelorussia fighting Hitler's soldiers. His group of men made dozens of daring raids on the Germans, one of which ended in tragedy: he was gravely wounded, had to have one arm amputated, and a serious operation on the other and virtually lost his hearing.

"My physical disabilities make me unfit for further army service," wrote Lieutenant-Colonel Orlovsky to his Party branch, "but I was brought up in the Communist Party and would have no greater pleasure in life than to work for the good of my country. I am now faced with the question: have I given all to the country and Party, or is there something else I can do now?" In 1945, he journeyed from Moscow to the ruined Byelorussian village of Myshkovichi to take over the Dawn Collective Farm. Once again it meant tense work, studies and sleepless nights. Today, Dawn is one of the country's flourishing farms. That is the life of Communist Kirill Orlovsky, Hero of the Soviet Union and Hero of Socialist Labour.

Here is another example. From the age of 16, Julia Vecherova has worked at a textile mill in Ivanovo Region. All her life has centred around this mill.

For a long time, the most backward and difficult section of the mill was the trimming shop. The young weaver requested to be switched over to this shop. She had to get accustomed to new machines, to learn how to operate and repair them and grasp new methods of work. After a month she was the first in the shop to overfulfil the plan. Others were inspired by her devotion and, soon, the trimming shop was no longer lagging behind.

But Communist Julia was already thinking ahead. How could comprehensive mechanisation best be carried out in the shop, and how could she prevent the time wasted through machinery standing idle? After a long search, much thought and observation of every movement at the looms, she found what she was looking for. In the summer of 1959, Julia Vecherova boosted productivity of the looms to the level scheduled for 1965. Her example caught on, and on the eve

of the Twenty-Second Congress more than 20,000 textile workers in Ivanovo Region alone had followed suit.

Applicants are admitted to Party membership only individually. "Membership of the C.P.S.U. is open to any citizen of the Soviet Union who accepts the Programme and the Rules of the Party, takes an active part in communist construction, works in one of the Party organisations, carries out all Party decisions, and pays membership dues." So says the first paragraph of the Rules. New members are admitted from among the candidate members who have passed through the established probationary period of one year. Persons may join the Party on attaining the age of eighteen. Young people up to the age of twenty may join the Party only through the Y.C.L.

The Y.C.L. has trained and recommended nearly seven million people for Party membership. Becoming a Communist is the dream of every Komsomol member. In the Y.C.L. Rules it is written that "the Komsomol member considers it the greatest honour to become a member of the Communist Party". In all their work and studies, Komsomol members prepare themselves for joining the Party.

The principal demand the Party nowadays makes of its members is that they should *take an active part in building communism*. A Communist should serve as an example of the communist attitude towards labour, should display a high degree of ideological and moral purity, should be uncompromising to all shortcomings and be considerate and attentive to people.

Holding a Party card does not make a man faultless. There are even Communists who are unworthy of the name. Where necessary the Party expels such people. At the same time it trains and educates its members.

The Party's source of strength and invincibility is to be found in its *ideological and organisational unity* and in the conscientious and voluntary performance by Communists of their duty.

The rights of Party members ensure them the chance to take an active part in Party life. A member uses his right to vote and be elected to Party organisations. He participates in the free and businesslike discussions at Party meetings and in the Party press of questions concerning the political and practical work of the Party. Members have the right to

criticise any Communist, irrespective of the post he may hold, and to demand his presence at the meeting or conference where the question of his work or behaviour is to be raised. A Communist may address a question or application to any Party level, up to the Central Committee.

PRIMARY PARTY ORGANISATIONS. Primary Party organisations are formed at the place of work of Party members wherever there are not less than three Party members. At the time of the Twenty-Second Congress there were some 300,000 primary Party organisations. They are the foundation of the Party.

The highest organ of the primary Party organisations is the *Party meeting* which is convened at least once a month. Open Party meetings may be attended by non-Party members. At their annual general meeting Communists elect a *bureau* or *committee* headed by a *secretary* for the conduct of current business. All important current business is decided by the secretary jointly with the other Party bureau members, that is, *collectively*.

Bureau members, secretaries, Party committees and rank-and-file Communists are consulted on all manner of issues. Communists make it their business to have a wide knowledge of all questions: reconstruction of the workshop, the situation in the factory nursery, a rationalisation proposal, a family upset, the proceedings of a meeting, a slight on someone's character, a question of accommodation or organisation of recreation facilities. And their interest does not stop there. At the proposal of a Party bureau or the whole Party branch to review a certain issue, the administration, trade union committee or Y.C.L. committee are also involved. The decision is taken and its execution is supervised by the Party bureau.

The key feature of the Party organisation is its work with people, their political and moral education, and the proffering of all possible assistance in organising labour and personal affairs. The best way to influence people is by a Communist's *personal example* and exemplary fulfilment of *Party tasks*.

The Communist Party is an integrated centralised organisation. Party organisations are founded on the territorial-production principle. This means that all Communists are members of primary Party branches at their place of work at factories, farms, offices, colleges or army units, etc. Being located in a given area, these primary organisations are part

of a district or city Party organisation, which in turn is part of a region, territory and republican organisation. This structure grew up historically and plays an important role in the building of a communist society.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM. The guiding principle of the organisational structure of the Party is *democratic centralism*, which signifies:

(a) election of all leading Party bodies, from the lowest to the highest;

(b) periodical report of Party bodies to their Party organisations and to higher bodies;

(c) strict Party discipline and subordination of the minority to the majority;

(d) the decisions of higher bodies are obligatory for lower bodies.

The Party Programme and Rules envisage further strengthening of Lenin's standards of Party life, of which the most essential are the promotion of *inner-Party democracy* and the extension of *collective leadership*.

Collective leadership helps to amass the knowledge, experience and abilities of many people. Lenin once called the Party the collective leader of the people. In strengthening collective leadership and promoting inner-Party democracy, the Party has made it compulsory to carry out a systematic renewal of the composition of all Party bodies, while ensuring continuity of leadership.

Favourable conditions have been created for the free and businesslike discussion of questions of Party policy and work (through Party meetings, conferences and congresses). In order to give a greater opportunity for exercising this right, more power has been given to Party meetings, conferences and congresses. Every encouragement is given to criticism and self-criticism as a way of exposing mistakes and shortcomings and as a means of getting the best work out of all Party workers. As thousands of Communists are drawn into Party and public work on a voluntary basis, the number of paid Party workers will diminish.

Inner-Party democracy and collective leadership are combined with a *high degree of organisation and unity of the Party*, and with *strict Party discipline*.

As a result, the Party is the *highest form of socio-political organisation*. By improving its structure and by the constant

perfection of methods of social administration, the Communist Party sets an example to other mass organisations.

Congresses are convened at least once every four years. They have the right to review, amend and endorse the Programme and Rules, hear and approve the reports of the Central Committee, of the Central Auditing Commission, and of the other central organisations. They determine the Party line in matters of home and foreign policy, and elect the Party central bodies.

Between congresses, the Central Committee of the Communist Party directs the activities of the Party and holds one plenary meeting every six months. It elects a Presidium to direct its work between plenary meetings and a secretariat to direct current work. Central Committee decisions are binding on all Party branches, on all Communists. The higher organs of the Party direct, politically and organisationally, the Party and the country and guide communist construction.

PARTY'S GREATER ROLE IN BUILDING COMMUNISM

The Party is the advanced, politically more conscious section of the Soviet people. Even in the most difficult situation it never loses sight of the overall target, clearly sees the way forward to communism and leads the millions along that road. *Marxist-Leninist philosophy* makes it possible for the Party to carry out its leadership in a scientific way. In every aspect of its work, the Party combines revolutionary theory with practice.

PRINCIPAL DIRECTIONS OF LEADERSHIP. Since the Communist Party became the party of the whole nation, it has extended its influence over all sectors of public life.

The need for further improvements in *managing* and *organising* the socialist economy is steadily growing. Over the next twenty years industrial and agricultural output will multiply several times. New automatic production lines, computers, atomic energy and other scientific and technical innovations will all be coming into greater use. The rapid tempo of development of the forces of production demands a high degree of their organisation, thoughtful location and constant renewal and development.

In this situation, one can easily appreciate the need for greater Party leadership.

In recent years, the Party has completely revised the forms and methods of economic management throughout the country in keeping with the new tasks involved in communist construction. After all, the economy is the main sphere of struggle for communism, the sphere which decides the outcome of the competition between socialism and capitalism.

Central Committee plenary meetings regularly review vital problems of communist construction.

The Central Committee makes use of the best models to show Party branches and all Communists how best to manage the socialist economy. The work of Communists and Party bodies is evaluated on the strength of the concrete results of a factory or building site, a collective or state farm, a scientific institution, a region or republic. Lenin once said that economic policy should be the most interesting sphere of activity for all Communists.

The enhancement of the part played by the Party also results from changes in political life. The nearer to communism the greater is popular initiative and the importance of mass organisations. Ever new millions of workers are drawn into government affairs. All this requires greater organising activity of the Communist Party.

The full-scale communist construction period requires greater ideological work among the people. It is important that every Soviet citizen be acquainted with the Party Programme and be able to implement this great plan. Ideological work is connected with the Party's organisation and administration: the fruits of ideological work are directly reflected in Soviet industry, building, agriculture, and better living conditions. And conversely, economic successes enhance the ideological work of the Party and mass organisations.

METHODS OF PARTY LEADERSHIP. The greater the political consciousness of the working people, the more effectively they fulfil the plans set by the Party and the sooner they arrive at communism. That is what makes the widespread *promotion of their active participation and initiative* the key method of Party leadership.

To these ends, the Party advances clear-cut and comprehensible goals, *convinces* the people of the correctness of its policy and helps them *master the experience* of the best

workers. The Party actively supports the communist labour movement, all activity directed at rationalisation and invention, and draws the workers into running the state and elaborating its plans.

When the draft Party Programme was under discussion, more than half a million meetings took place throughout the country with the participation of about 73 million people. Some 4,600,000 contributions were made. Further. Over 300,000 letters and articles were delivered to the Central Committee, local Party bodies, the newspapers and magazines, radio and television.

Since success in organisation very much depends on the quality of management, the Party devotes much attention to the *selection and training of Party workers*. When a Party body recommends a person for responsible work, it goes by his businesslike political and moral qualities. The Party seeks to ensure that there is the correct combination of age and experience with youth and energy.

Real leaders of the people are always very much in touch with life, ever sensitive to the people's needs. They are distinguished by their independence of will, their fresh approach to the implementation of Party policy, their ability to push things through and organise people. The Party fights against procrastination and bureaucracy in management and condemns those who continuously await direction from above.

An essential method of leadership of communist construction is *control over work done*, by means of Party, government and public checking, behind which lies Lenin's notion of combining Party and government control with the participation of wide sections of the working people. A joint control centre was established—the Committee of Party and State Control under the direction of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., with corresponding organs in the localities. The control organs systematically check on the fulfilment of Party and government directives, improve leadership of communist construction, and keep a watch on Party and government discipline and socialist legality. These organs not only keep check and mete out appropriate punishment, but also help eliminate abuses. Additionally, they educate people. They enlist into their activity millions of ordinary people who are loath to shortcomings

in work and red tape, who strive to secure the smooth functioning of the state apparatus.

The Communist Party directs communist construction through *state and mass organisations*. It does not command or override them, but sets out their basic tasks and determines the place of each organisation in the struggle for communism.

The Y.C.L., too, comes under the direct management of the Party, being the Party's active assistant and reserve.

In carrying out the Party's instructions after the Twentieth Congress the Y.C.L. brought up a whole generation who ploughed up millions of acres of virgin and disused lands, built dozens of blast and open-hearth furnaces, rolling mills and chemical plants. The Komsomol members helped bring into commission ahead of time thousands of miles of gas-mains, railway track and electric transmissions. Some three million young girls and boys have gone into animal husbandry alone under the auspices of the Y.C.L. over the past few years.

Once more, at the Twenty-Second Congress, an appeal was made to young people: "The youth are called upon to help develop our natural wealth, and build factories, state farms, and cities. It is not near Moscow or Leningrad that the bowels of the earth hold wealth, but in the wilds, in the mountains and deserts. To make this wealth serve the people, it must be extracted from the earth.

"The young people of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Gorky, all young people living in the older population centres must set out boldly to provide our people with new wealth."

And at all times, shoulder to shoulder with the Y.C.L. members, stood their elder comrades—the Communists. In the factories and down the mines, on the farms, at the institutes and schools, the Y.C.L. receive every possible assistance from local Party branches.

The Party is continually improving its methods of guidance over the building of communism.

In the next chapter we shall take a closer look at the Party Programme, its plans for the future and how it is guiding the Soviet people as they build communism.

The Cherished Goal

SOCIALISM INTO COMMUNISM

SPECIFIC FEATURES OF TRANSITION. There is no brick wall between communist and socialist societies, socialism being the first phase of communism. But transition to the higher phase of communism cannot occur at once, through a single sudden jump.

It would therefore be naïve to imagine that on one fine day we should turn in under socialism and wake up under communism. The transition is a relatively lengthy process. Communism gradually grows out of socialism, thus obviating the need to break up everything and build anew. What this entails is to develop, perfect and, where necessary, transform the production basis of socialism and the socialist relations among people.

The transition from socialism to communism does not necessitate a radical break-up in all departments of life, since socialism provides fertile soil for communism. From the triumph of the socialist revolution, the shoots of communism begin to spring up and continually grow.

Marx and Lenin called socialism "immature communism". And the only way to reach maturity is through growth and development.

While growing out of socialism, communism at the same time is superior to it in every respect. *Qualitative* changes take place in the economy, in social relations, in people's social consciousness and psychology. But this qualitative transformation occurs gradually, through development and perfection of the socialist economy, social relations and growth in people's communist consciousness.

This gradualness by no means implies sluggishness. On the contrary: the more the Soviet Union moves towards communism the faster its advance, its tempo of communist construction.

Due to the *objective and law-governed nature* of socialism's growth into communism, strict and consistent order

must be kept in building communism. There can be no dashing ahead or holding back when certain changes are ripe for implementation. Lenin taught the Soviet people to always be realistic about their policies. Being able to see ahead, Communists always have their feet firmly planted on the ground and take into account the actual situation on all occasions.

The gradual and unbroken development of socialism into communism also does not imply that it takes place of its own accord. To build communism requires an active and creative approach to all tasks facing the community. Communism is being ushered in by the socially conscious and single-minded activity of the whole Soviet nation under the leadership of the Communist Party.

What are the key tasks to be fulfilled in order to reach the goal?

A THREE-FOLD TASK. Since production of material values is the basis of society, the key task involved in building communism is the creation of the *material and technical basis of communism*. But that is not all. For communism to triumph *communist social relations must be formed*. Task No. 2. And, as the ultimate goal of the entire communist transformation is the all-round development of the individual, the third task must be *to educate a new man*.

Even at first glance we can discern the close connection between this trio of tasks. In putting up new mills and works, in boosting the community's wealth, the Soviet people are preparing the ground for the change-over to the communist principle of labour and remuneration, that is, they are perfecting social relations. As the latter develop, they bring about a change in people's attitudes to life, inculcate in them new moral traits. The formation of communist social relations and the education of a new man exert a powerful influence, in turn, on the development of the forces of production.

One of the main tendencies in the formation of communist social relations is constant improvement in economic management. It is quite plain that once society can account for the demands of growing production exactly and in good time, and is able to find effective forms of economic management, the material and technical basis will be laid all the more

rapidly. The powerful communist forces of production are not handed over on the plate; they arise out of the toil of millions of people guided by the Communist Party.

The connection between the three key tasks involved in building communism is so close that they may be called *the three-fold task*.

CONTRADICTIONS AND DIFFICULTIES OF GROWTH.

Building any new society is an extremely complicated business. For anything new to come into being, contradictions have to be overcome, and so have the old, outmoded and traditional forms of living which once played a positive role and then began to hinder growth.

Contradictions under socialism are distinct from those under capitalism in that they are contradictions involved in growth and tied up with the up-tempo rhythm of the socialist economy, with the mounting material and cultural wants. They are clashes between the old and the new, between the progressive and the backward.

In capitalist society the contradictions between the production forces and relations inevitably turn into conflict which can only be resolved outside the bounds of capitalism and which leads to its doom. Under socialism, the dominance of common ownership precludes any conflict between the production forces and relations. Common ownership creates fertile soil for the growth of the forces. What, then, lies behind contradictions in the socialist mode of production? As the forces develop, certain links in the relations fall behind. The replacement of some links by others, however, does not alter the essence of socialist relations, but only advances and enriches them. The contradictions are successfully resolved by the community in the process of which a new level of development is achieved.

Take an example. The machine and tractor stations once played a useful role in helping the peasant-farmers to rearrange their farming along the lines of collectivisation and served as government mainstays in the countryside. Later, they outlived their use and no longer helped boost farm production, because they hampered the strengthened collective farms in disposing of machinery and materials as the farms thought best. There were two bosses on the land who did not always co-ordinate their actions. The Party exposed this contradiction in good time and took a decision to dismantle

the machine and tractor stations and sell farm machinery and materials straight to the collective farms.

Contradictions are resolved not automatically, but in the course of the battle against conservatism, inertness and backwardness.

There are other types of difficulties, as well.

Thus, for example, the community has to spend a vast sum on strengthening the country's defence capacity. This puts a certain burden on the budget. But the Soviet Union is obliged to equip the armed forces with modern weapons. As long as the danger of attack from the imperialist powers remains, the Soviet Union has to keep its powder dry.

Difficulties may also be of a temporary character, say, a shortage of foodstuffs. In recent years, Soviet agriculture has been growing steadily. But, at the same time, the population is growing fast and so, too, are earnings and, consequently, demand for meat, butter and other produce. Decisive measures are being taken to eliminate the gap between the volume of farm output and consumer and industrial demands in the briefest possible time. And, undoubtedly, this task will soon be accomplished through the joint efforts of the collective farmers, the state-farm workers and the whole Soviet nation.

ECONOMIC BASIS OF COMMUNISM

Building communism above all presupposes the creation of its material and technical basis.

It is clear from the very word "basis" that there can be no thought of building communism without it, just as a house cannot be built without a foundation. The significance of this foundation is even more apparent if we think of what it actually involves.

By a society's *material and technical basis*, we have in mind the level of development of production on which the given social system is consolidated and from which springs its all-round development.

Communism's material and technical basis has to ensure an abundance of material and spiritual values and must therefore be superior to all those that have gone before. It must entail the country's complete electrification, produc-

tion's comprehensive mechanisation and automation, the wide-scale application of chemistry throughout the economy, the creation of new materials, unification of science and production, the rational utilisation of all existing resources, a high level of culture and technology and an unsurpassed growth in labour productivity.

This is the Party's and the nation's key economic task, the realisation of which will give the U.S.S.R. first place in the world in per capita output; will guarantee the world's highest labour productivity and transform work into a source of pleasure, inspiration and creativeness; will ensure the world's highest living standards and facilitate the transition to distribution according to needs; will turn socialist relations of production into communist relations, will bring into being a classless society, wipe out important distinctions between the town and country, and later between mental and manual labour. It will keep the country's defence at a high level to destroy any aggressor daring to take up arms against the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

EARNEST OF VICTORY OF THE NEW SYSTEM

FIVE NEW INDUSTRIAL POWERS. What is the level of industrial production essential for creating the material and technical basis of communism?

The plan for industry and agriculture contained in the new Party Programme gives the most comprehensive answer. By 1980, industrial output will have grown approximately six times over the 1961 level. That is equivalent to the creation of five industrial powers as mighty as the Soviet Union was in 1961. By 1980, the country's industrial output will be twice as large as at present in the non-socialist world.

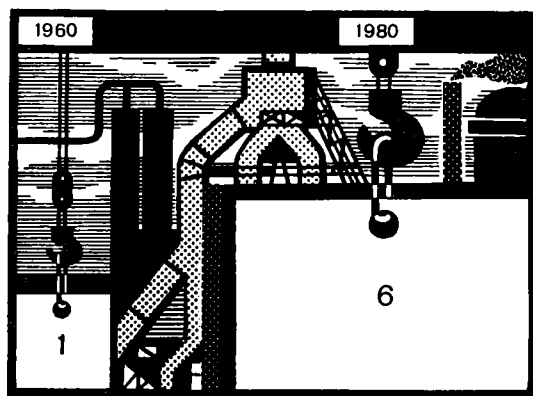
How is it possible to estimate the rate of industrial growth over a twenty-year period? Estimates are made on the proved potential and superiority of the socialist planned economy. In the 16 post-war years (1945-60) Soviet industrial output had an annual increase of 10.6 per cent. In the current twenty years, taking us up to 1980, this increase should be between 9 and 10 per cent. Hence, growth rates should be virtually the same as in the previous fifteen years. Meanwhile, growth

potential has greatly increased. More production means a bigger national income, and every percentage of national income going towards accumulation becomes more "weighty". Consequently, the size of capital investment in industry and other sectors is continually on the increase. As they build the material and technical basis, the Soviet people will unearth fresh reserves ensuring an even faster pace. Capital expenditure will become more effective and output per unit of capital investment will rise. Scientific advance will present even wider opportunities than at present.

How will such an enormous upsurge in all industrial and agricultural sectors be obtained? The most straightforward means seems to be to extend production so as to turn out many more different products; therefore, build more high-powered plants and mines, boost crop yields and livestock produce, etc.

But to take this path, that is, to develop production in breadth only, would mean waiting a very long time before communism could be built. Doubling the number of industrial undertakings, even at the present high rate of growth, would take decades. Doubling production does not yet signify abundance.

And it is not simply a matter of setting dates. Another, more complex, issue arises: where to get the vast amount of manpower to serve such a large number of undertakings? A



Industrial growth

mere increase in plants, therefore, is insufficient for creating the material and technical basis.

There is another way to achieve abundance.

We must recall what it was that enabled capitalism to establish itself as a more progressive social formation than feudalism. History and political economy tell us that it was largely the higher labour productivity that put capitalism in the ascendancy.

Socialism, and more so communism, opens up opportunities for higher productivity unheard of under capitalism, because it can rationally use all its material and labour resources.

GREATER LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY. By 1980, Soviet economists hold, more than nine-tenths of the national income increment will result from higher labour productivity, and only one-tenth from increased manpower.

If productivity remained static, the number of industrial workers alone would have to increase to 150 million (the actual figure was 18,600,000 in late 1960) so as to attain the industrial output envisaged in the twenty-year plan.

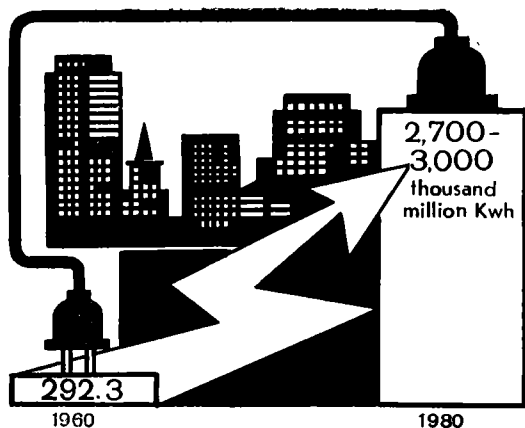
And, whereas the increase in manpower has its limits, labour productivity under socialism, and even more so under communism, can grow interminably. Hence, *higher productivity is the main source of development.*

In this the Soviet people heed Lenin's advice: "Labour productivity is, in the final analysis, the most important and vital factor in the new system's triumph." Higher productivity is the main index to success in creating communism's material and technical basis.

POWER GALORE

COMPLETE ELECTRIFICATION. Power can be obtained in various ways and put at man's disposal! It throbs through the extensive transmission lines, does countless jobs and is ever-present, where brute force is needed and where the most delicate operation has to be handled.

Under communism, the immense advantages of electricity will be used to the full. It can easily be transformed into other forms of energy (mechanical, thermal and chemical), can be divided up in an endless number of ways (which makes it amenable to the most diverse machinery and precision



Generation of electricity

instruments) and can be transmitted over long distances (which facilitates the best location of production). All this makes electricity the cornerstone of modern technical progress.

The increased demand for electricity coming from the rapidly growing economy and higher labour productivity, envisaged in the Party Programme, can be satisfied only by the *country's complete electrification*.

Generation of electricity will grow, literally with every passing day, and by 1980 it will reach the fantastic figure of 3 million million kilowatt hours. And all of it at the service of the working man!

One kilowatt hour of electricity can raise a ton weight to a height of 1,223 feet, or drive one hundredweight of metal, or weave some 11 yards of cotton cloth, or boil and pack 93 pounds of sugar, or sew two pairs of shoes, or bake 191 pounds of bread, or milk 50 cows. One walking excavator which lifts off the top of rocks covering the red iron deposits near Kursk or which digs out coal in open-cast mines of the Altai Mountains requires as much power as a big town.

The growing output of electricity not only signifies more mechanical aids. Electricity is an exceptionally versatile instrument of production and aids the economy in a multitude

of ways. New chemical processes, in particular the smelting of metals like aluminium, magnesium and titanium, and the manufacture of artificial fibre and fertiliser, are highly power-consuming branches. That is one of the reasons why a powerful impetus is being given to the development of these industries in the eastern regions of the country, close to the swift-flowing Siberian rivers—the most promising source of cheap water power.

The sphere of application of electric power is being extended not only in various economic branches. It is being increasingly used to satisfy needs in the home and daily life.

To increase the supply of electricity at labour's command a gigantic programme of new electric power station construction is being put into effect. Over the twenty years (1960-80), there are to be about 200 new district thermoelectric power stations (the basic stations in the power system), 260 large heat and power plants (guaranteeing, besides the supplies of electricity, whole districts their own heating systems) and 180 large hydropower stations. By 1970, the new stations will be adding an extra 20-25 million kilowatts every year, and, by 1980, an extra 45-50 million kilowatts.

A SINGLE POWER GRID. For insurance against accidents and for making up load deficiencies at different seasons and during a twenty-four hour period, large electric power stations are being linked up into rings. The linked stations operate in a common system which supplies numerous electricity users. This forms the power grid—not simply several electric power stations but a unified group of stations for generating and transmitting electricity.

The linking up of individual stations in one grid has a tremendous significance both in increasing the reliability and efficiency of their functioning, and for the best use of fuel and hydropower resources. Moreover, the greater the capacity of the power grid, the larger the units and entire stations that can be linked in without risk. And the extension of the electric power base means an immense extra gain to the country. Whereas at present, thermoelectric stations are equipped with 100,000-300,000 kilowatt units, in the not so distant future power blocks (boilers and turbines) will reach a capacity of between 500,000 and 800,000 kilowatts. At the new hydropower stations with a capacity of between four and six or more million kilowatts, a large hydropower plant

with a capacity of up to a million kilowatts will be established.

The complete electrification of the U.S.S.R. not only will entail a further extension of the power grids, but also the linking up of the entire systems of stations for parallel operation. The unification of the power system will be ensured by a *single power grid* for the U.S.S.R.—a unique design of fantastic size and complexity, which will make the Soviet power system immensely economical and flexible.

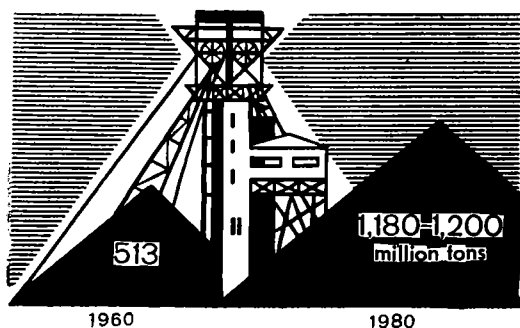
To put this plan into operation, several hundred thousand miles of main transmission lines have to be laid, including the transmission lines of alternating current and of high-tension direct current. The future most high-powered main transmission lines will run from Central Siberia to the Urals, and from Kazakhstan to the Urals. A number of lines linking the Soviet power system with those in neighbouring socialist countries will also be laid.

Apart from the main lines, several million miles of distributive networks with a voltage of up to 35 kilovolts are to be laid by 1980. Virtually a half of these are to serve rural districts. Bringing electricity to all rural districts is the most difficult task of all. To electrify only one of the present average-size collective farms in the central belt, for example, distributive networks have to be built over a distance of nearly twenty miles.

FUEL BALANCE. The rapid development of electrification does not mean that the need for fuel and other power sources will diminish or fall away altogether. The demand for fuel will, in fact, increase. Many electric power stations will be working on coal, oil and gas, and many branches of heavy and light industry, transport and agriculture will continue to satisfy their vast requirements from solid and liquid fuel. And so, fuel will be very much in demand by everybody and everywhere.

As production increases in scope, so the demand for various types of fuel will mount, although major changes will occur in their utilisation. Between 1960 and 1980, the amount of oil extracted will rise from 148 to between 690 and 710 million tons, gas from 47 to 680,000-720,000 million cubic metres, and coal from 513 to 1,180-1,200 million tons a year.

The Party intends to alter the fuel balance by sharply raising the share of the most efficient types of fuel like oil and gas.



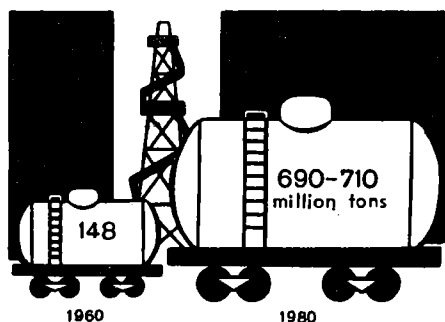
Coal output'

This will have quite a revolutionary effect on industry and transport. In the ferrous metal industry, for example, the use of natural gas will step up power in blast furnaces and cut coke expenditure by 10 per cent. Natural gas helps to cut down raw material preparation time (clinker kilning) in cement production. In transport, diesel trains and motor ships working on liquid fuel will replace the inefficient steam engines and steamers. Farms will receive large amounts of oil products. The fuel balance revision will have substantial social significance, since new industrial areas will spring up around undertakings operating on gas or liquid fuel. The worker's labour will be eased and air pollution eliminated in many cities and workers' settlements.

Oil and natural gas are not merely first-class fuels, but the major raw materials from which various synthetics are made, like plastic, synthetic fibre, rubber, leather, soap, spirit, colouring, perfume, and medicines. Several thousand products are at present being obtained from oil.

There is no danger of fuel resources running out for a long time to come yet—in natural gas and oil resources the U.S.S.R. is among the leading countries of the world.

The discovery of new deposits is changing the geographical location of enterprises in the fuel industry. A large-scale oil and gas extractive industry is to be built up in the east and particularly in West Siberia and the Urals at the newly-discovered oil deposits of Shaim, Ust-Balyk and Meglon, and at the natural gas deposits of the Berezovo



Oil production

group. Another area of oil importance is Irkutsk. More oil and gas have been found on the Mangishlak Peninsula in Kazakhstan. High-quality oil has been discovered in the mesozoic deposits in the North Caucasus; the oil industry in the town of Grozny is having a second life. And in the sea, oil

resources, especially in the Caspian, seem inexhaustible.

The Soviet Union has already overtaken all European nations and is now just behind the U.S. in oil extraction and gas transportation. Most natural gas is now obtained from the Ukraine and North Caucasus, whose deposits will long remain the main source of gas for the country's central regions. But Central Asia will soon be supplying natural gas to several districts in the European part of the country and to the industry of the Urals. The Gazli-Urals gas pipeline, which is now the most powerful in the world, went into operation in 1963. The gas extracted in Uzbekistan is to produce a real revolution in Urals industry and will save hundreds of millions of rubles in state investment.

Yet the boost to gas and oil does not mean a cut in coal production. During the twenty years of the plan, priority will be given to coal mining in the eastern regions. The share of open-cast coal in the total coal production will be substantially increased. Up to 20 per cent of the aggregate volume of mined coal will be extracted by the "washing", or hydraulic, method.

NEW POWER SOURCES. Scientific and technical development opens up prospects for the wide utilisation of many new power sources.

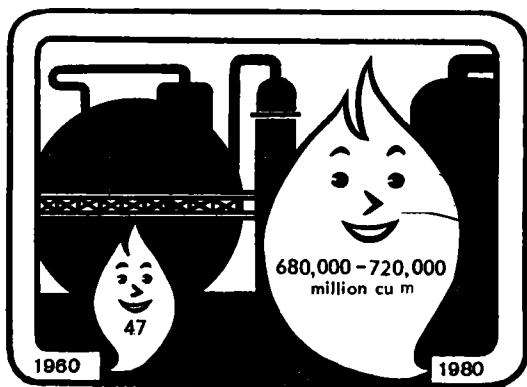
Atomic energy is one which will come more and more into the limelight. Back in 1954, the world's first atomic power station came into operation in the Soviet Union. In 1958, an atomic power station was set working in Siberia, and early in 1964 another—the Byeloyarsk—was commissioned in

Sverdlovsk Region. The Novovoronezh atomic power station is now nearing completion.

Greater use is to be made of the sun's energy, especially at the solar electric stations using siliceous semi-conductors. While the sun shines, every square metre of a semi-conductor battery gives out a 100 watt power practically all the time. Similar batteries operate in the Soviet space satellites and spaceships. Vast solar power stations are being designed.

Another long-established assistant to man will be given a new lease of life—wind force. Problems have to be overcome concerning its inconsistency. Wind force can be accumulated by means of the electrolytic decomposition of water into hydrogen and oxygen. Wind turbines can store up a great quantity of this unusual fuel which can be used in diesel engines and elsewhere. Another important application can be found in the establishment of a network of wind stations to obtain energy over a long period.

The Soviet power industry will soon have at its disposal the earth's internal heat on a wide scale. Natural heat in the form of steam or hot geysers is being utilised in Kamchatka, the Kuril Islands, the Caucasus and Central Asia. Scientists reckon that, by means of very deep drilling, steam and hot water will soon be obtainable in almost any region. Cities and villages, industrial undertakings and greenhouses will be heated from sources inside the earth. Geothermal



Gas output

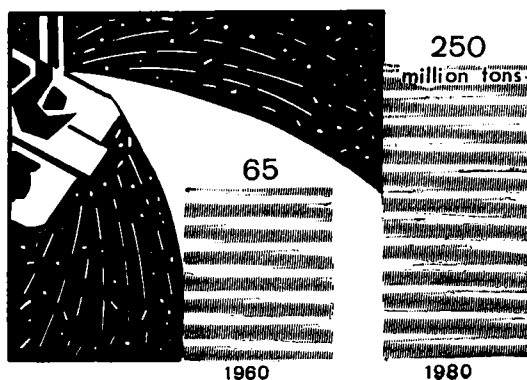
electric power stations are being built. They will work on the principle of direct transformation of heat into electricity.

Stations generating electricity from tidal waves caused by the attraction of the sun and moon are also planned. These waves circle the earth twice a day and, in places, reach a height of some 30-50 or even 70 feet. Special dams with hydraulic turbines are to harness these waves. The first tidal wave station in the U.S.S.R. will be constructed on the Kola Peninsula, in a gulf of the Barents Sea, where the waves are particularly high.

MATERIALS

AN AGE OF UNLIMITED CHOICE. If power is the first condition for modern industry, the second must be the materials from which come the machinery, buildings and a multitude of consumer goods.

Materials in their natural state are not always able to satisfy the needs of modern technology. Not so long ago designers of new machinery and architects of houses and industrial buildings had to make do with the initial materials used for many decades. Today, having come to understand and forecast the properties of complex molecules, physics and chemistry are able to "design" new compounds with pre-set properties. This means that the designer is gradually



Steel smelting

being freed from all limitations placed on him earlier. He is now free in choice of material which best fits his technical design and, what is no less important, makes the treatment of the finished article easier. If the necessary material is not present in nature, the designer can "order" the properties he requires, and the material will appear. Hence our use of heat-resistant steel, semi-conductors, unbreakable glass, non-inflammable cloth, acid-resistant utensils, non-sparking gears and bolts that require no isolation from electric current, and resins that can stick even bridges together.

No new technical attainment, be it a space flight, full automation of a complex operation or the invention of computers, would be possible without new materials with definite, pre-set and most diverse properties. Some installations require materials that remain hard at high temperatures; others demand the property to adapt quickly to changes in an electro-magnetic field, and yet others an acid-resistance in the most aggressive chemical surroundings.

The radical change in relationships between materials and the technical possibilities facilitates an even more rapid advance, offers designers exactly the right materials they want, not the ones they only manage to obtain. "An age of unlimited choice" will soon be with us.

METALS OF THE FUTURE. The tremendous resources of iron ore which enable the manufacture of cheap metals to be developed and their structure to be improved, will ensure them an important place in engineering, in the manufacture of instruments, equipment and other articles for every branch of the economy.

By 1980, ferrous metal production will provide the facilities for smelting approximately 250 million tons of steel a year. The Programme calls metals and fuel "the foundation of modern industry". However, as we shall see farther on, metals will be increasingly replaced by other, more economic materials, in particular pre-stressed concrete and plastics.

The time is approaching when iron in its technically pure form (non-alloyed) will only be used in special and rare circumstances. Nearly all pure metals will be alloyed to some degree, thus greatly increasing their tensile strength. Consequently, where we now use a ton of common rolling metal, it will be possible to get by with only half a ton of steel alloy.

Already the 20th century has witnessed colossal successes resulting from utilising the properties of certain rare metals. Even greater success can be expected from the metals which industry is just beginning to apply.

Here are some examples. Copper-beryllium bronzes (fusion of copper and 3-4 per cent beryllium) are strong and resilient, and indispensable for parts which have to undergo repeated changes in pressure. In the near future, not one branch of technology will be able to do without photo-electric cells, just as today the normal functioning of industry is impossible without electrical appliances. Elements now considered rare—germanium, cesium, thallium, etc.—will become household words and will be used in countless automatic controls.

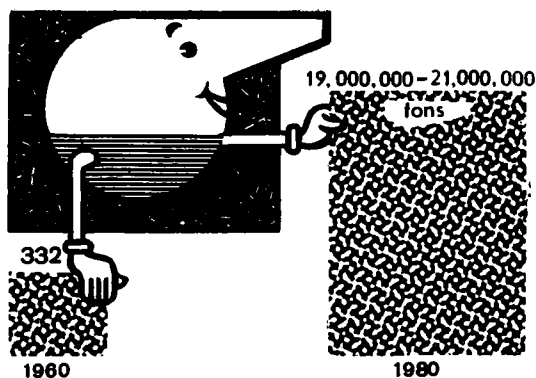
The use of rare elements offers inexhaustible possibilities, but they are not easy to extract. Many are very dispersed in the earth's crust and still insufficiently studied. Extracting them from their ores also presents enormous difficulties: smelting a ton of copper, for example, requires 50-100 tons of ore; smelting one ton of gallium, 50,000 tons of ore.

These obstacles are nevertheless not imponderable. Technical history shows how recently there were similar difficulties in the extraction of aluminium and magnesium. Once people realised aviation could not be developed without them, aluminium and magnesium began to be smelted in large quantities. The same happened with titanium. Its valuable mechanical properties, high resilience to corrosion and vast natural deposits of ores containing titanium induced greater interest in this new metal (every large aeroplane was lightened by several tons by using titanium alloy, and a diesel engine made of titanium was twice as light as one made of steel).

In the capitalist world, the squabble still continues to get and keep a hold on sources of rare metals. Most people have heard of the "rubber" and "oil" wars. Other troubles over the past decades engineered by the imperialist states in Latin America could be termed the "tin", "copper", "niobium" and "vanadium" coups.

The Soviet Union is fortunate in having resources of all rare metals. And in the years to come they will be more and more brought into use.

MODERN MATERIALS. New types of materials prepared from high-molecular compounds are coming more into



Output of synthetic resins and plastics

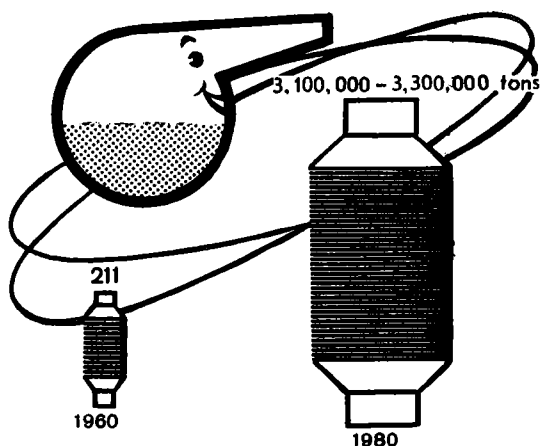
industry and the home. Due to the nature of their structure, the vast molecules of polymers and other high-molecular substances possess quite unique properties. When they combine with other fittings (glass, for example) or with themselves, they can be utilised as highly resilient building materials, as fibres or as rubber.

Plastics, prepared on the basis of polymers, are easily made because of their prime asset—a high degree of plasticity, acquired at a comparatively low temperature. When the plastic becomes pliable it can be easily moulded into any shape. On cooling it hardens. Besides press methods plastics can be worked into new articles by such advanced methods as moulding in vacuum, casting under pressure, the shaping of large objects by the application of centrifugal forces, the continuous moulding of pipes, the moulding of objects by stretching them, etc.

Because of their operation benefits plastics can often replace metals and are even superior to them. In this connection, plastics can rightly be called “irreplaceable substitutes”.

Furniture, building materials, machinery cases, gears, car bodies, etc., can all be made of plastics. In future, virtually all the metal parts of lathes, machinery and aeroplanes can be replaced by light and strong high-molecular compounds.

Polymers are coming near to metals not only in method of treatment. We now know that they can be hardened and baked. Scientists will probably be able to carry out alloying



Production of man-made and synthetic fibre

soon. The polymer family is constantly growing. And, since variations of the "internal structure" of polymers are infinitely great, there can be no limit to the family's expansion.

MAN-MADE WEALTH. Chemistry breeds new and necessary materials. At the present stage of scientific and technological development chemistry is the field that is revolutionising labour productivity throughout production.

In the first place, products of the chemical industry cost less than the parts they replace.

Here is an example showing the advantages of synthetic materials: it takes 238 man days to produce one ton of cotton fibre, but only 56 man days for one ton of synthetic fibre, i.e., four times less. It takes 624 man days to obtain one ton of clean wool (including sheep rearing labour), but only 260 man days for one ton of good wool substitute, i.e., less than half the time and expenditure.

Further, the quality of goods made of synthetic and other chemical materials is often considerably higher, and this too saves a good deal on socially necessary labour.

It has been estimated, for instance, that over 70 per cent of accidents with electric motors are due to poor electrical insulation. Yet electric engines, lathes and vacuum cleaners will not work without electric motors. Motors with silicon insulation (a hard wire of a mixture of silicon and oxygen,

with carbon compounds forming its circuit), however, have withstood the most difficult tests when the motor has at times been overburdened. Many silicon compounds are renowned for their waterproof qualities, which make them invaluable for outer walls of buildings, immune to changes in the weather.

In the second place, new chemical materials mean more consumer goods.

Thirdly, they enable us to use raw materials more economically and efficiently.

Thus, timber loses two-thirds of its bulk on the way from the forest when used in its natural form, on the basis of mechanical treatment (losing branches, sawdust, shavings, etc.). But chemistry enables us to use all the previous waste which goes into the making of spirit, cellulose, paper, synthetic fibre, plastics, building parts, etc.

Thanks to chemistry, the raw materials themselves take on an entirely new look. What was previously regarded useless as a raw material is now coming into its own. Geologists even speak of "creating minerals". This has a strange ring. How can we "create" minerals? What scientists mean is illustrated by the following. For many, many years the Urals poor copper pyrites were regarded as unworkable. Chemistry came to the rescue and made it possible and worthwhile to extract even the minutest particles of copper from poor ore. Here is another illustration. The mineral nepheline was long considered too troublesome to work when obtaining the valuable phosphorite ores from the apatites on the Kola Peninsula. But scientists hit on a way of extracting and treating nepheline chemically, and now it yields aluminium, potash and soda, and the residue can be turned into high-quality cement. Nepheline has thus become an invaluable industrial raw material.

Vast resources are being made available by replacing alimentary raw materials (spirit, casein, vegetable oils, etc.) by chemical materials (synthetic spirit, various synthetic resins, fatty acids, etc.).

These are all the fruits of chemical development—our fabulous man-made wealth.

MINERAL WEALTH. After the discovery of rich Siberian diamond fields, there was no raw material whose deficiency could hamper the growth of any branch of the Soviet economy. The Soviet Union is the only country in the world that can

satisfy economic needs from its own mineral resources. This not only implies the richest country in the world in *diversity* of raw materials but also in *quantity* of prospected resources of all the most important minerals.

Indeed, a simple increase in the volume of prospecting cannot achieve these targets. Here, as everywhere, science stands at the controls. In close collaboration with physicists, chemists and other technologists, geologists will resolve the difficult task of "correcting nature".

To obtain a more balanced and efficient location of industry, to eliminate costly carriage, geologists will have to build up mineral reserves not in general or on the whole throughout the country, but mainly where they are needed most. They have to prospect phosphorite, limestone, clay and other similar materials.

Of course, it is no use prospecting where there are no grounds for supposing a deposit exists. Geologists nevertheless bear in mind that practically every part of the country has much more promise than was ever dreamed of when using the old prospecting methods.

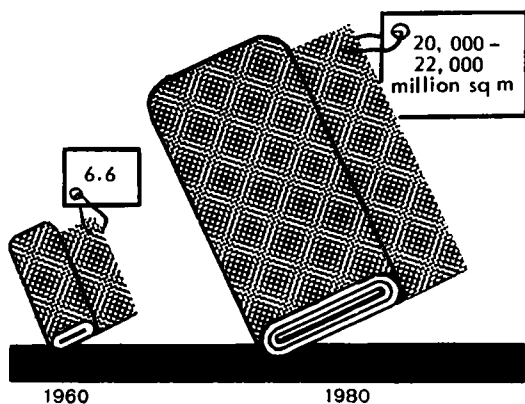
One of the most valiant tasks involved in building communism's material and technical base is to cast the net for mineral resources far and wide, take from them all that is needed and in any quantity.

MAIN DIRECTION OF TECHNICAL PROGRESS

HEAVY AND LIGHT INDUSTRY. Throughout the period of building socialism, first place in extended reproduction always went to heavy industry. And the same will apply to the period of building communism.

The law of priority growth of producer goods (manufacture of the means of production) remains in force because, as we have seen from the example of the power and chemical industries, with correct planning it is always advantageous to promote those branches of industry which accelerate technical progress and ensure higher labour productivity in all branches of production.

But the manufacture of producer goods is not an end in itself. They are needed in the final count for increasing the output of consumer goods and improving the standard of



Textile production

living. Thus, as heavy industry develops, so too does the production of consumer goods.

From 1929 to 1940, the average annual increment in heavy industry exceeded that of the consumer goods industry by some 70 per cent. Since 1963, the gap has been 20 per cent. The 1964-65 plan envisaged a further levelling between the two. Thus, priority growth of heavy industry persists, for otherwise it will be impossible to solve the problems of comprehensive mechanisation and automation.

COMPREHENSIVE MECHANISATION TO AUTOMATION. In the coming years (by 1970) comprehensive mechanisation will be carried through in industry, agriculture, transport, building and municipal services.

By the end of the twenty years (1980) comprehensive automation will have been introduced on a mass scale and more and more workshops and undertakings will be fully automated.

To raise the productivity of machinery, it is not simply a matter of speeding up the process of the material's processing, like metal cutting, but also of spending less time on auxiliary operations, just those performed by hand. The possibility of accelerating manual operations is limited. They therefore have to be automated.

The degree of automation in a machine may be raised by applying new devices for the automatic regulation of its working parts, for automatic control over quality and quantity

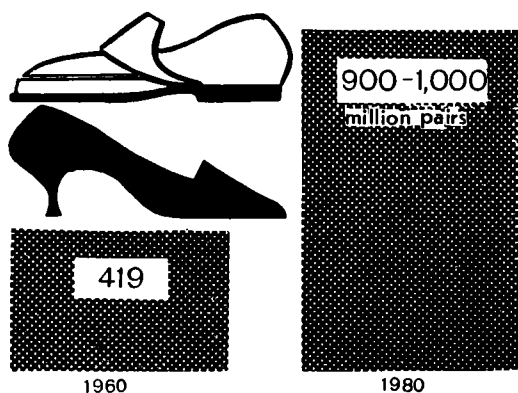
of the finished product, for feeding in the material for processing and for cleaning up waste products, etc.

If the automatic work cycle somewhere requires the interference of a worker, we have here semi-automated machinery. More often as not, a feeding device is lacking and the worker has to set up the material and remove the finished product from the semi-automated line. As well as speeding up individual operations, automation makes it possible to *combine* them. Thus, one machine cutter may be slicing through the flat of a detail, while another is finishing off the butt end, and a third has already begun to grind a conical surface—all three operations may be performed simultaneously.

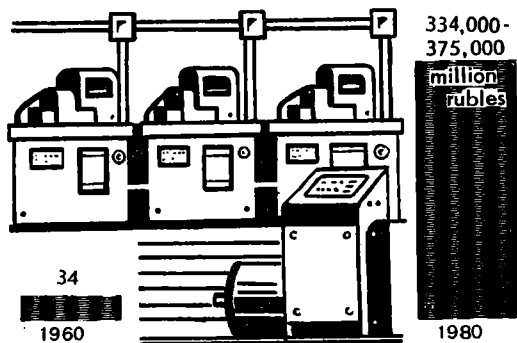
Imagine a piece of hand-operated machinery in which all these jobs are combined to the same degree; it would take a hundred pairs of hands and eyes working in unison to control this non-automated piece of machinery. On the automated line mechanical hands and electronic eyes do all the work.

When single operations are linked up into an uninterrupted process, perpetual motion machinery is born.

Take the rotary press as an example. The paper moves round and the process of printing continues uninterruptedly. These presses are now replacing the ordinary printing presses, the flat-bed presses, due to their incomparably higher productivity.



Shoe production



Machine-tool and metal-working production

Perpetual motion machines can function in almost any branch of industry. Automated machinery is also becoming increasingly popular in the metal-working industry and allowing the worker a back-seat. As a lathe rotates it performs all the necessary jobs. Every section of the rotating lathe fed with the detail by a single mechanism, returns it to one and the same place after each revolution. Rotor conveyor belts work on this principle.

By concentrating a number of automatically performed operations, a multi-position combine or conveyor belt can be set up, along which the detail passes as it is being worked.

At the top of the automation ladder stands the fully automated factory where all operations are performed by a set of automated machines.

High speed and continuity require modern methods of control—automatic control panels and computers, programme controls, self-regulating and self-tuning controls which set the optimum pace.

Machinery can determine which pace suits it best, as well as be set at a given pace. It can keep up an air current that will ensure the most efficient functioning of a steam-boiler, determine the optimum conditions for a chemical process, establish the correct regime for sinking an oil well, etc.

The continuity of most chemical processes is a particular boon for a wide application of *automation in the chemical*

industry. At present, automation has already made serious inroads into the production of synthetic alcohol, rubber, nitrates, calcium soda and sulphuric acid.

Automation in the power industry has also reached a crucial stage. At all the large and medium-size hydroelectric power stations, control is now fully automatic. The new stations come into operation with modern control panels and, where necessary, with remote control, too. At the really big stations, the average shift consists of from four to six hands, and at the medium-size stations there are only two to three men on duty at a time. Many (up to 20,000 kilowatts) function without any permanent staff on duty.

Transport is now being unified in a single system on a country-wide basis. To make transport well co-ordinated and efficient, trains are being switched over to electricity, motor transport and shipping are being speeded up and their carrying capacity raised. On the other hand, auxiliary links in the transport system have to be kept in line. Thus, for the present, loading work is being fully mechanised.

Building also has its fair share of technological benefits. Pre-stressed concrete and ready-made panels are doing the bricklayer out of his irksome job. Nowadays, building sites are more and more resembling factory assembly lines. Factory buildings and residential blocks are being put up much in the same manner as machinery.

AUTOMATION UNDER SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM. Present-day automation not only saves labour, and this is its chief benefit, but also paves the way for a self-regulating system of control over production. This, further, makes it possible to utilise all the remaining elements of production in the most efficient way—raw and other materials and equipment—which is particularly important when we bear in mind that a good proportion of production costs come from expenditure on materials in a number of industrial branches.

Cutting production costs is one of the great temptations for the capitalist factory boss. But the economic advantages of automation are by no means the same for capitalism and socialism, and *the social consequences are diametrically opposite.*

The most nagging problem which crops up constantly as capitalist automation is stepped up is that of *unemployment.*

Under capitalism, automation inevitably engenders an army of unemployed.

Problem No. 2 is that of *the market*. Many firms are afraid to introduce automation and push up their output because they cannot find a sales outlet. For a dozen years, one firm in England which automated its wireless set factories, worked at under-capacity.

Neither unemployment nor market difficulties are new to capitalism. And they both spring not from automation alone, although that certainly complicates matters.

Automation has even been known as the "demonic force" in the West. The English physicist George Thompson has reckoned in his book *The Foreseeable Future* that in a single generation remote-controlled machines will forever take away the millions of jobs.

But is automation really such a Big Bad Wolf to the workers living under capitalism? Of course not. The chief cause of the resulting evils from automation under capitalism is the *anarchy of production, its lack of planning*.

Just as automation personifies a new level of the forces of production today, it urgently demands new relations of production capable of increasing the scope for the development of these forces today and tomorrow.

Under socialism and communism, automation provides society with immense, previously undreamed-of possibilities for the forces to develop and the people's well-being to flourish.

At Soviet plants, too, improved technique naturally leads to labour economies. Sometimes quite a sizeable group of workers are relieved of their former jobs.

The carefully planned expansion of production, however, ensures a constant appeal for more factory and office workers. The displaced workers never have to go on the dole, and the extra output obtained on account of the continuous expansion of production never causes congestion on the market.

Arranging new jobs for the workers may be settled by switching them over to other employment in the same works or transferring them to another factory in the same town or district. At the wish of the workers, they may have work arranged for them in another district altogether. But in no circumstances do the workers lose materially in any way. Their interests are society's chief concern.

THE COMMUNIST ECONOMY

In step with production expansion, the growing complexity of economic ties, and scientific and technical progress while building communism, the whole business of planning and economic administration must be put on a higher level.

CONCENTRATION OF PRODUCTION. It is still far too early to fill in the whole picture of the future economy, but main features can now be seen in outline.

Something which can very clearly be discerned is the growing trend to *concentration of production*. High productivity and the smooth running of mass production cannot be accomplished on the basis of small-scale production. Large-scale production is the answer. Here it is profitable to introduce modern machinery, comprehensive mechanisation and automation. All the advantages of improved technique can be utilised to the full at large-scale undertakings.

Since the communist economy, as the most highly organised and technically highly equipped economy, will be based mainly on large-scale production, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government are concentrating on the construction of high-capacity enterprises. Take the Seven-Year Plan as an illustration. Not so long ago the Soviet Union was building thermoelectric power stations with a capacity of 200,000-600,000 kilowatts. Now, stations are going up with a capacity of between a million and 2,400,000 kilowatts. The cost of electricity at the big stations is 12 to 15 times less than at smaller stations.

The number of large-scale undertakings in the U.S.S.R. is greater than in any other country. Yet possibilities for further concentration are by no means exhausted. The many small works which still exist are being grouped into amalgamations called firms.

As the Soviet Union moves along the communist road, the small, technologically backward works will gradually fade out, giving way to large-scale, technologically advanced production.

SPECIALISATION. Another important principle of modern production is *specialisation*, entailing, in essence, a strict division of labour among all undertakings with the purpose of switching the whole undertakings or individual workshops onto the production of kindred products. This facilitates a

better application of machinery, raw materials, the introduction of the latest plant, in particular automation machinery, of improved techniques, and attainment of higher-quality products at lower cost.

Most appropriate examples of specialisation are motor-car and tractor works producing uniform items. Factories turning out motors, aeroplane engines and accessories like ball-bearings or tyres, are being established. Another type of specialisation is to combine one kind of operation under one roof, such as a foundry or forge works.

A large part (approximately two-thirds) of standard metal fastenings—nuts and bolts for example—are made at specialised factories. Automation makes the job very profitable; small, non-specialised works, producing one-third of the total output of metal, had far greater production costs than the specialised factories had, though their output was only half as much. For engineering as a whole this means a waste of millions of rubles a year which drains away into a host of seemingly insignificant channels.

Specialisation also holds much in store for agriculture. Milk, bacon and industrial crops are the main concern of the North West, the Baltic republics, many parts of Byelorussia and the Ukrainian woodlands.

The Transcaucasian and Central Asian areas of the country have the best facilities for growing fruit, grapes, citrus fruits, tea and cotton.

The regions for grain growing, animal husbandry, maize and sugar beet are mainly concentrated in the central black-earth area, the Ukraine and the Northern Caucasus.

In the neighbourhood of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Gorky, Sverdlovsk and other industrial centres, vegetable growing and dairy farming are predominant.

CO-OPERATION AND COMBINATION. The greater the specialisation, in industry especially, the more the dependence of one branch or factory on another. The functioning of the machine-tool factory very much depends on supplies from the foundry, the motor works and instrument-making factory. The tractor works cannot operate without electrical equipment supplied by a special electrical works. Close production ties among all factories and branches of industry are the answer. We call the establishment of these ties *production co-operation*.

Under communism, the *combination of production** will also have a large part to play in the economy. The advantages are enormous. First, there are no idle moments during the technological process. Secondly, raw materials and equipment are used in the most efficient way possible. Thirdly, transport costs are considerably cut.

In some cases where production combination is applied, there has to be a radical reorganisation of the whole branch. Many specialised branches gradually die off and the production of their items is transferred to another place where it is conducted much more efficiently. In future, for example, two-thirds of the country's soda and virtually half of the sulphuric acid production will be concentrated in the non-ferrous metal industry, that is, will be obtained simultaneously with the extraction of precious metals. Another point in favour of such production combination is that it often obviates air and water pollution since the waste products of one sector are precious raw materials for another. The presence of a large amount of waste is a certain sign that there is much room for scientific improvements.

In the building industry, large-scale mechanisation and the application of new materials have made it possible to carry out a considerable amount of combination. Big factories turning out ready-made houses are springing up. The gains, again, are immense. It only takes four or five months to put up (without foundations) a large block of flats, whereas it used to take seven to eight months. Costs per 1,000 square yards have been halved.

Both in food and agricultural production conditions are very favourable for combination. Agricultural products are gathered at different seasons and may be processed at a big combine with machinery of the same type. Strengthening of production ties among the farms and local factories will continue with this in mind. As the Party Programme indicates, agro-industrial combines will become increasingly widespread in the years to come.

SPECIALISATION OF AREAS. In the Soviet Union, location of industry comes under a single plan envisaging the most expedient specialisation of all areas with an eye to the national

* The concentration in a single enterprise of various branches of industry which are linked together by a production process.—Ed.

economy as a whole. The more rationally industry, agriculture and transport are located, the better the natural resources and manpower of the various regions are utilised, the fuller the country's territory developed, the greater will be the community's potential to satisfy its material and spiritual requirements. The crux of the whole idea of correct location of the forces of production, springing from the planned division of labour in accordance with the natural, economic and historical features of each region, is the maximum *labour saving*.

In this connection, prime attention turns to Siberia.

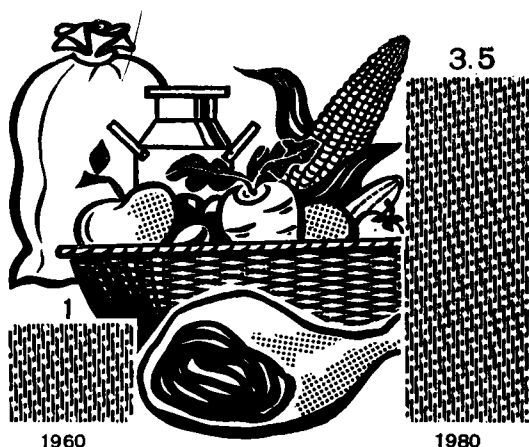
Siberia is really a "country within a country" both for her wealth of natural resources and her boundless expanses. Natural riches are also not lacking in the Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus, Transcaucasia, Central Asia, the Central Regions, North-West, Volga regions and the Urals. These are the chief economic areas where the richest natural resources are concentrated. All will be developed, but none to the vast extent of Siberia. The colossal opportunities presented by this astonishingly rich land are by no means fully tapped. Soviet people, and especially the younger generation, have set their sights on opening up this great area and laying its riches at the benefit of communism. At the call of the Party, millions of people have made their way there to take up interesting and challenging work, imbued with hardship and adventure, demanding devotion, energy and skill.

In the European part of the country, location of industry will undergo certain changes, too. The new industrial-economic areas to be created will be crucial links in the communist economy.

The material and technical basis of communism will not be a single sum of thousands and thousands of highly mechanised and automated factories. It will be a single, well-organised economy embracing a whole number of closely connected industrial and agricultural regions.

RATIONAL ORGANISATION OF AGRICULTURE

A NEW DECISIVE STEP. The communist basis cannot be built without a thriving agriculture. Plans for industry and agriculture are interlinked and depend on each other.



Farm production

There are two ways to boost farm output: extend the sown area at the same technological level (extensive farming), or extract more produce per unit of worked area than previously (intensive farming). "The main way to improve agriculture and satisfy the country's growing requirements is to ensure comprehensive mechanisation and *intensification*." Thus says the Programme.

Under socialism, the cultivation of new lands was coupled with the constant improvement in techniques. This enabled the Soviet Union to increase its sown area by more than 100 million acres in the last few years—by ploughing up the virgin and unused lands. The aim now is to develop intensive farming and animal husbandry in the virgin lands.

The chief means of production in agriculture is the land. Intensive farming will, therefore, be directed to getting more out of the land. Machines are expendable, but not so the soil. If it is well cared for, replenished with fertiliser, sensibly alternated for the sowing of various crops, or for crop rotation, then soil fertility will always be on the upgrade.

KEY TO INTENSIFICATION OF FARMING. This means, firstly, gaining more from every acre of land, and secondly, raising labour productivity and cutting costs on the basis of *mechanisation* and *chemicalisation*.

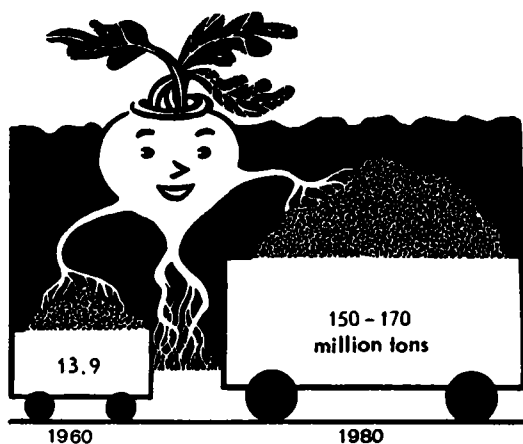
The state and collective farms will be provided with much new highly productive equipment which accords with the prevailing conditions in each zone. Where possible, automation will be introduced.

Taken as a whole, the technical equipment of agricultural labour will increase three to four times by 1980. It stands to reason that intensive farming entails not only a physical increase in the quantity of machines used per unit of area, but also its most efficient application and constant care for the machinery.

A major ingredient of intensification is comprehensive electrification, which will be conducted not by enlarging the number of small and uneconomic electric power stations, but by linking farms up into the industrial power grids.

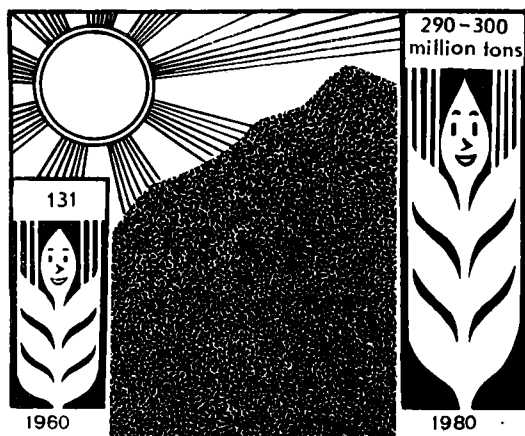
Another powerful lever of intensive farming is the application of *chemicals and chemical methods*. This has been amply illustrated by past experience with fertilisers and pest killers. What Soviet agrochemist Academician Pryanishnikov meant in speaking of "new continents" created by chemistry, was that chemistry can give as much extra farm produce as entire countries.

Chemists, physiologists and bio-chemists have done much in recent years in creating and applying new chemical sub-



Output of mineral fertilisers

stances which stimulate the growth and fruition of plants. These include preparations which, when given in small doses, stimulate growth, but which, in large doses, can also kill plants. Then there are the herbicides—for the selective destruction of weeds among valuable crops, growth stimulants for fruit and vegetables, aids to the quick taking-root of trees and bushes, mixtures for healing wounds to trunk and branches, for combating wind-falls, etc. Other preparations

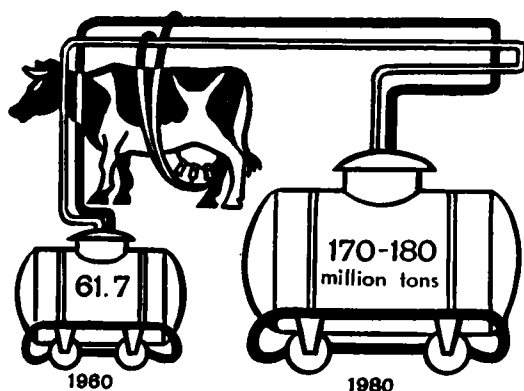


Grain output

delay the blossoming of buds on trees and bushes in cold spring, prevent the germination of potatoes during storage, prune young shoots on fruit trees, cotton plants and other crops (by chemical caulking). Cotton harvesting by machine is lightened by using defoliant—a means for stripping plants—and dessicants—substances which dry stalks, leaves, tops of potatoes, tomatoes, soya beans and other plants. By using defoliant cotton can be gathered by machines, thus freeing many people from this seasonal back-breaking job in the Central Asian republics and other southern regions of the country.

In livestock breeding, too, chemistry has come to stay-feeding preparations, preservatives and disease-combating substances.

The economic effect of chemical stimulants is enormous. Thus, feeding ruminants with urea (carbamide) has the effect

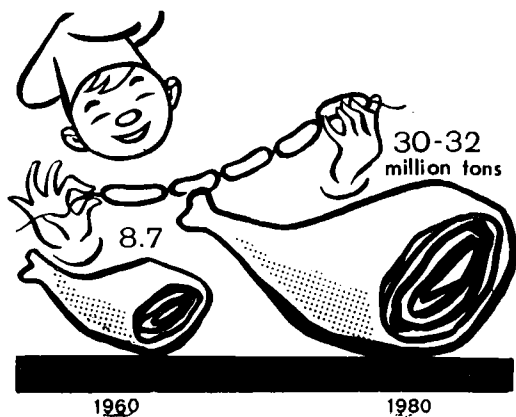


Milk production

of raising the milk yield and the animals' weight. In the case of sheep, it increases the amount of wool clip.

Many animal diseases are caused by bites from blood-sucking insects like the horse-fly, gad-fly, mosquito, common fly, etc., and are passed on through contaminated water and fodder. Some illnesses come from poisonous plants. Chemical substances are leading the fight for the prevention and cure of these diseases.

GUARANTEED HARVESTS AND YIELDS. Until now, agriculture is very much at the mercy of the weather. As we



Meat production

have not yet worked out a way of controlling the elements, what are we to do about cutting our losses?

In arid regions the best way of guaranteeing a good and regular harvest is by irrigating and working the land. This will bring into use rich lands in the south where sunshine is plentiful but moisture is lacking. Millions of acres in Central Asia, in the south of the Russian Federation and of the Ukraine, and in the Transcaucasian republics, will soon be put to the plough thanks to irrigation. This will help push up the output of such valuable crops as cotton, rice, maize, and will bring in more meat, milk, butter and wool. Irrigated lands will add some 100,000 tons of grain to satisfy approximately a third of the country's grain needs.

By 1980, 70 million acres of land will have been irrigated. On these irrigated lands a good and regular guaranteed harvest can be obtained under any weather conditions. The waters of some of the northern rivers will be used in the coming years to implement the irrigation plans.

In the non-black earth regions of European Russia, much work has to be done on draining marshes which cover an area of some 50 million acres.

LIVESTOCK FARMING. The nation is tackling major problems of ensuring guaranteed increases in milk and meat yields. To achieve this purpose, new and improved work methods and machines are being widely introduced.

This results in accelerating the development of all branches of agriculture and leads to the creation, in the near future, of an abundance of farm produce. Livestock farming cannot be separated from crop raising. The greater the fodder crop harvest, the higher productivity of livestock; the more cattle, the more meat and milk.

The achievements of science and advanced work methods must be put at the service of all farms.

The Soviet Government has adopted a new series of measures to further the material and technical basis of collective and state farming. Among other things, it has placed state purchases of agricultural produce on a stable basis and raised purchasing prices for this produce. All these measures economically stimulate the further boosting of agriculture and increase the material interest of agriculturists in the results of their labour.

SCIENCE—A FABULOUS PRODUCTIVE FORCE

SCIENCE AND PRODUCTION. Science came into production together with complex industrial techniques: the principles of mechanics were a help in designing machines; physics and chemistry made it possible to improve the technology already at hand.

Things have radically changed since then. From an explanation of natural phenomena, science now reproduces the processes and chemical reactions present in nature, and, in many respects, has gone further than nature. For example, science has discovered ways of concentrating light energy in thin, laser rays. These do not exist in nature. Very many substances which have been created synthetically and display properties needed in industry, cannot be found in natural conditions.

Science is provided with mighty production facilities. Now in existence are such modern scientific devices as giant accelerators of elementary particles, possessing magnets which are hundreds of feet in diameter, and operated by some thousand people; then there are vast aerodynamic pipes, electronic microscopes and electronic computers. All these are highly intricate engineering structures.

Modern industry is based on the results of the latest scientific investigations and resembles a colossal laboratory in action. All great technological changes today begin with scientific research. All inventions in modern industry and agriculture must contain elements of scientific penetration.

In other words, science is steadily becoming a direct productive force. This is only possible in a society on its way to communism. Why is this so?

Extending the sphere of the technological application of science is important, but not the crucial factor in turning it into a direct productive force. Only when development of production is smooth-running and well-balanced, when technological inventions serve both to advance the means of production and aid the development of man himself—the main productive force in society, science can become a productive force in the full meaning of the term. In practice, the degree to which the realisation of the latest scientific achievements is possible directly depends on how well production is prepared for this as well as the social conditions in which it exists.

This interlinking of science and man, its creator, bearer and transmitter, is only feasible in a society where production does not develop spontaneously. For the first time in history, a communist society fully satisfies all the necessary conditions for this interlinking. And the nearer society draws to communism, the more apparent becomes man's dominance over the means of production due to his scientific knowledge.

SUMMITS OF SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS. Soviet scientists bend every effort on swiftly advancing along the untrodden paths leading to the glittering summits of knowledge.

Already today, the Soviet Union holds a leading place in many branches of science, a fact which has been especially demonstrated with the development of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and the exploration of outer space.

Further experiments in outer space will help to explain the most diverse atmospheric phenomena, will pave the way for the eventual control over the weather, the establishment of stable radio and television links and will help resolve many other important problems.

Soviet physicists, who have done so much to establish the country's priority in the development of atomic power industry, are now working on harnessing a new type of power—thermonuclear power.

Scientists begin to apply new, non-machine methods of transforming heat into electricity (magneto-hydrodynamic generators and thermogenerators based on semi-conductors).

The uncovering of the physical and chemical mechanism of the extremely economic and efficient processes taking place in living organisms (albumen synthesis, the combining of atmospheric nitrogen, muscle working, etc.) will enable mankind to set many of nature's secrets at the service of industry and will provide very powerful means of rejuvenating the human organism and conquer the most virulent diseases.

With the tremendous expansion of scientific research work in adjacent branches of knowledge (at the junctions of chemistry and physics, chemistry and biology, etc.), there have arisen completely new problems of organisation and co-ordination of all the scientific research being conducted in the country.

The favourable conditions existing for the application of science to production in socialist and communist society are

seen in the fact that the character and scope of application of all the natural sciences to the development of the forces of production undergo changes. Socialist relations of production usher in a new era of conscious application of all the sciences to advance the forces of production.

Building communism poses a multitude of questions which have no ready answers. They can only come through study and generalisation of the experience of communist construction, research into the fundamental principles of the economic, political and cultural development of socialism and its growing into communism, and elaboration of the problems connected with communist education.

* * *

We have examined the main paths of development of the material foundation on which the new, communist relations among people are being formed. The material and technical basis of the future communist society will far exceed the bounds of development of the forces of production reached under capitalism, will incorporate the highest attainments of scientific and technical progress and will equip the Soviet Union with the most refined and powerful techniques.

FORMATION OF COMMUNIST SOCIAL RELATIONS

One of the greatest gains from building socialism is the banishment for all time of the main evil of class society—man's oppression of man. All Soviet people work in social economy, are paid in accordance with their labour contribution and have a say in the way the country is run.

Nevertheless, class and other related social distinctions (between town and country, between people performing physical and mental work) continue to exist. As long as they do, complete equality in working and living conditions is impossible. That is why the overcoming of these distinctions and the establishment of a classless society is the most essential task involved in building communism.

ON THE WAY TO A CLASSLESS SOCIETY

COMMUNIST PROPERTY AS THE BASIS OF CLASSLESS SOCIETY. The chief reason for the continuation of class distinctions is that the worker's labour is associated with public property, and that of the peasant-farmer with collective-farm property. Distinctions will only disappear when *one communist ownership of the means of production* replaces the dual form of socialist ownership.

How will this come about?

Public property develops in tune with the construction of communism's material and technical basis. Every year sees the opening of several thousands of new factories, schools, blocks of flats, cinemas, clubs, clinics and sports grounds. Equipment at industrial undertakings is renewed and their productive capacity increased. Furthermore, production is becoming more concentrated, specialised and co-ordinated; the location of the forces of production is being improved and economic administration made more efficient.

Socialist public property directly grows into communist property. The situation with collective-farm property, on the other hand, is a little more complicated. That, too, has to merge with public property. But how?

The country needs bread, meat, milk and other products in ever-growing quantities. For this, new machinery and labour methods have to be introduced into farming; scientific and technical achievements have to be widely applied in both crop and livestock farming; labour organisation has to be improved, i.e., we have to attain *a sharp increase in the agricultural forces of production*. There lies the key to the solution, since a rise in farm production leads to the development of collective-farm property right up to its merging with public property.

Is the collective-farm property capable of ensuring this development, this impetus to the forces of production? Indeed it is. The country can boast any number of collective farms showing as good results as the state farms. Sometimes results are even better. That indicates that collective-farm property has far from exhausted itself and still contains vast reserves which must be tapped to the very limit. It is for this reason that both the collective and state farming are widely promoted.

RAPPROCHEMENT OF THE TWO FORMS OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY. Let us now see how the upsurge in collective-farm production and the transformation of the collective farms into real agricultural factories lead to a greater level of socialisation of co-operative property and bring it closer to public property.

As the collective farms advance, there is a steady increase in their *non-distributable assets** over their share contributions (which occupy less than 3 per cent of the farms' assets, and this figure is falling). The greater non-distributable assets, the closer collective-farm property comes to resemble public property economically.

The labour of the whole Soviet people—farmers, workers

* Non-distributable assets, as the name implies, are not subject to distribution among members. They serve to extend the farm's production and improve the welfare and cultural facilities for members. They include such items as tractors, combine harvesters and other machinery, power plants, trucks and cars, livestock, buildings, long-established plantations and all funds earmarked for the farm's economy.

and intellectuals alike—is embodied in the tractors, combine harvesters and all other machinery used on the modern collective farms.

In line with the economic development of the collective farms, *their internal relations of production improve*. They are better able to satisfy all the needs of their members for most farm products. They introduce paid holidays and allowances now obtainable at government undertakings. The Soviet Government has extended the pension scheme to collective farmers.

Inter-farm production ties have also been on the increase in the last few years, thus extending various forms of assistance among the collective farms. A single farm is often incapable of building an electric power station, a plant for the initial processing of agricultural material, a rest home for its members, and so on. A few farms in the same vicinity therefore get together and pool their resources. Occasionally the farms put up a building in collaboration with a government undertaking. It is clear that this type of enterprise or building cannot be regarded only as co-operative property. It barely differs from a publicly-owned enterprise. What is taking place, therefore, is a direct *merging of collective-farm means of production with those of the state*.

One of the greatest advantages of socialist property is planning production. Here, too, the distinction between the two forms of property is falling away. With due consideration for their specific features as co-operative enterprises, the collective farms are now applying improved industrial *planning methods*.

Another sector of rural life to be improved is that of *labour organisation and management*.

The increase in the non-distributable assets, the promotion of inter-farm ties and those between collective farms and state bodies, and the improvement to other aspects of the relations of production bear witness to the rapprochement of collective-farm property with public property. All this does not imply, however, that both forms of socialist property develop under their own steam—one moving ahead and the other catching up. An immense role in the growth of farm production (and that means in the growth of socialisation of collective-farm property) is being played by electrification, the comprehensive mechanisation and automation of

farming. Industry is supplying the farms and villages with a vast amount of techniques and fertilisers and is processing farm produce.

The development of the two forms of property is very closely interconnected, with public property playing the leading part, and will bring both to one form of property. When this process has run its course, the chief distinction between classes will disappear.

A time will come when everyone will work at publicly owned industrial and agricultural undertakings and will have roughly the same working conditions—roughly, because, for some time ahead, differences in working conditions will remain due to the specific features of farm production. But these differences no longer bear a social character.

Everyone will be paid for his work out of the public funds and will have equal access to all the values distributed through the public funds.

TOWN AND COUNTRY

WAYS OF DEVELOPING THE COUNTRYSIDE. Among other things communist property is brought about through *bridging the social distinctions between town and country*—a cardinal factor in creating a classless society.

We should not identify these social distinctions with class distinctions. This would be wrong because, besides collective farmers, state-farm employees and a considerable number of professional workers live and work in the countryside. But it is certainly true to say that the root of the distinctions could be traced back to the historical conditions of development. Being the place for industry's concentration, the town long ago gained a higher standard of culture and living than the countryside. The exploiting classes sought to perpetuate this discrepancy and thereby turned it into a social antithesis.

The triumph of socialist relations throughout social production brought about the disappearance of this antithesis. The countryside stopped being a mere raw material appendage of the town and became one of the equally significant links in the socialist system.

The town no longer lorded it over the village but began to lend a hand in revolutionising the rural way of life,

Many thousands of workers went to the aid of the peasants. They helped them organise collective farms, put an end to privation and backwardness. Machinery was dispatched, farm experts were trained with the result that rural labour productivity has been increased. Through capital investment and credits the government has channelled many millions of rubles into rural undertakings, houses and other amenities.

On the cultural side, too, the rural scene has undergone a real revolution. Hundreds of thousands of specialists with secondary or higher education now work on the land—agronomists, livestock experts, doctors, engineers, school teachers, etc. Millions of farmers have been taught the trade of machine operators. It is hard to imagine a modern village without its school, hospital, social club, library, cinema facilities, wireless sets, without its sports club and various amateur groups.

But important distinctions are still there—housing conditions and consumer service amenities, for instance, still differ to a great extent. The level of culture undoubtedly lags behind the urban standard. All these things take root in social inequality and finally fall away as communism is being built.

The Party Programme sets forth a whole set of measures aimed at overcoming rural backwardness. The villages will be provided with all modern conveniences, including hot and cold running water for every house, a good sewerage system, gas, central heating, etc. Education will be developed and more cultural institutions provided.

Country people will have the same material and spiritual blessings at their disposal as their urban counterparts. With every passing year people living in the countryside receive more modern amenities and services. Do they feel in any way at a disadvantage? On the contrary. Rural life has a number of advantages over that in the town: fresh air, absence of oppressive noise and the peaceful enjoyment of nature.

This is where the town comes off second best. But, under communism, urban conditions will be made as pleasant as possible. Today, much is being done by way of green belts, parks and gardens, free lay-out, etc. On the outskirts of large cities, new housing estates-cum-garden-cities are going up, combining the best features of town and country life. In other words, just as the village catches up with the town in modern amenities and cultural facilities, so the town comes to emulate the village in healthy and pleasant surroundings.

All this will lead to the complete disappearance of the village as we understand it today. Instead there will be well-appointed, modern rural housing estates. This will be made all the more pleasant by rational planning, avoidance of overpopulation and freeing the towns of pollution by soot and smoke.

Added to this are the wonderful opportunities offered by further development of the means of communication. No point in the country will feel itself cut off or "out in the wilds". Even today, the TU-104 airliner carries Leningraders to the capital in just fifty minutes, the time it takes Muscovites living in the suburbs to reach the centre. These planes will soon be replaced by supersonic passenger planes, and then probably rocket planes. In short, a business or pleasure trip to any of the big centres will be like visiting relations in the neighbouring village.

Radio and television will be far more developed than they are today; trunk calls will not need any preliminary booking or waiting. Wherever a person lives, he will be able to receive the latest information and keep abreast of current events.

FARM LABOUR INTO TYPE OF INDUSTRIAL LABOUR. Finally, and this is most important, *farm labour will become a type of industrial labour* through mechanisation (and later automation) and scientific innovations in land cultivation and animal husbandry.

Already today farmers have modern machinery at their disposal. Electric milking machines and other technical devices demand a certain degree of specialised and general education. Some knowledge of biology, veterinary surgery, etc., is essential in dealing with livestock and raising productivity through applying scientific methods. Unlimited possibilities exist for searching out the most rational means of farming, for experimentation and creativity.

Collective and state farms alike are becoming real factories for the production of meat, grain, milk and other produce. Factory work is industrial labour demanding not simply a higher level of knowledge, but also a greater communal spirit among the workers.

By its very nature, farm labour is less amenable to automation, for both land cultivation and animal husbandry are not continuous. Besides man and his machines, natural environment has to be taken into account. It sets the time limits for

crops to ripen and animals to mature. Yet this has by no means stood in the way of automation of several manual jobs, the automatic tractor for example, and there is nothing to stop the comprehensive automation of the majority of farm jobs in the future.

Once farm labour becomes a form of industrial labour it will be possible for both rural and urban workers to combine manual and mental work in their speciality.

MENTAL AND MANUAL LABOUR

FROM ANTITHESIS TO UNITY. The utopian socialists dreamed of the time when man could do away with one of the greatest injustices of class society—classification of people into manual and mental workers.

Socialism put an end to this old antithesis. Mental work is no longer an inherited privilege. The road to knowledge is open to everyone. Soviet intellectuals come from among the workers and peasant-farmers and have the same interests and prospects as the two classes in society. And the cultural revolution has brought the common people to science and the arts. Two million odd inventors and innovators, hundreds of thousands of amateur artists, many millions of workers and farmers who devote their spare time to study and some form of creative work—these are intellectuals in the most worthy sense of the term.

None of this, however, alters the fact that people can still be classified as mental and manual workers. Is it really possible to finish with this classification? One answer suggested by the utopian socialists was to alternate between mental and manual work.

Many people, today, in fact alternate between the two types of activity. A worker may spend his day at the factory bench, and then sit over his books or work on plans for technical refinements; a mathematician may pore over complex formulae all day and come home and dig the garden. In these examples the change-over takes place outside working time and the basic profession remains the same—either mental or manual work predominates in it.

As working hours are cut, there is greater scope for this type of interchange. It is useful both for man and society.

But modern production and science require that people be specialists. Whatever job we take up these days, whether as foreman, agronomist or teacher, we must have a certain amount of knowledge, experience and skill. In order to achieve this skill a person must devote himself mainly to one profession; otherwise no tangible results can be expected in any field of science, production, the arts and literature. In other words, a large degree of specialisation is required for people to shine in their particular profession.

The real answer then must be sought in those changes taking place in manual labour which bring it closer to mental work. Production must demand a higher level of education and skill and inspire the worker to independent initiative.

That is the direction in which we are going. First and foremost, heavy manual labour will be completely taken over by machines. In the past couple of decades alone, several hundred exacting and injurious professions have disappeared.

The more complex machines become, the greater the necessity for their operators to have a good grounding in the basic principles of science and a profound appreciation of technology. They will no longer be able to repeat mechanically the same old action day in day out. They will have to have their wits about them. It will then be possible to *integrate mental and manual work in people's everyday jobs*.

All this is being supplemented by the educational system, ensuring that everyone develops in a harmonious way. Every person will make a thorough study of his chosen field of work, will be conversant with the fundamentals of modern science and will acquire work habits through direct participation in production. By 1980, the Soviet Union will implement compulsory secondary general and polytechnical education. The educational system is being arranged so that schooling is to be combined with some form of factory, farm or office work.

AUTOMATION AND LABOUR. While heavy manual labour will be eliminated in the very near future, the integration of mental and manual labour will take a much longer time. Indeed, it is only likely to be resolved by automated communist production.

At the dawn of automation, the legend was born of the "push-button paradise", the "age of bliss". Some thought the time was coming when workers would only have to push

buttons to set in motion mighty machines and robots for the execution of any command.

But "pushing buttons" is not at all such a simple matter as it may seem. Push-button controls have undoubtedly lightened the workers' burden. They are being used today by the rolling-mill operator, the crane driver, and engineers directing operations at electric power stations. In effect, however, they simplify only the transmission of commands. The main thing, the decision-making that precedes the command, requires great knowledge and experience, instantaneous reaction and strenuous effort.

This can only last to a certain point. In modern industry, the production processes are greatly accelerated and man has little chance to relax. In this situation it is impossible to keep watch over everything going on in the workshop or factory, and quickly adopt a decision on how to iron out any snags that crop up or prevent accidents. The great creator of all these wonderful machines and devices, with all their buttons and levers, which simply have to be pushed or pulled, himself becomes an encumbrance to the efficient functioning of the machinery.

This is where electronic computers, able to perform thousands of operations a second, come to the rescue. Apart from their speed of action they have another essential quality: they record various stages of the process, compare results and select the best. It is therefore possible to get the machines to operate at the most efficient rate and to maintain that rate by commands. These electronic commands are instantaneously obeyed by all the electronic devices in operation. In brief, these computers can "conduct" a production process without man lifting a finger.

How is a person going to fit into this type of automated production?

There is little doubt that his role will be one of the utmost interest and responsibility. He will not only be responsible for designing and making the automatic devices, which in itself will be fascinating, but also working out the tasks to be set the machines. Even the cleverest machine is only capable of reasoning within strict limits and only after it has been set in motion by an appropriate, at times very involved, programme drawn up by man.

Thus, the work of tomorrow will be neither heavy, nor

monotonous. Man will willingly hand over all the monotonous jobs that can be performed by a machine, while retaining control and regulation. This, indeed, is a variety of engineering and technological activity.

Consequently, with the building of communism, *the old division of labour will certainly die out*, so freeing a considerable number of people from heavy and uncreative work. Every profession will be really creative and will demand a combination of a high degree of specialisation and the possession of a wide range of scientific and technical knowledge. The harmonious co-ordination of brain and hands will transform every job into a source of enjoyment and pleasure. This, naturally, does not imply that labour will be turned into an entertaining pastime. Work always will require mental and physical exertion.

Strictly speaking, in the years to come people will cease to think in terms of equalising mental and manual labour, just as today a surgeon uses his head and hands simultaneously.

At the same time it would be an oversimplification to imagine that everyone will have equal amounts of mental and manual work. Different professions always demand a different combination of mental and manual effort. Take a geologist, for example. His physical exertions are often greater than those required by some manual jobs.

As time passes, people will stop being classified as mental and manual workers, and intellectuals, as a special social group, will cease to exist.

* * *

The formation of a single communist ownership of the means of production, the elimination of social distinctions between town and country and the integration of mental and manual labour, are all objective social processes leading to the final breaking down of all class barriers.

COMMUNIST LABOUR AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

TWO CONDITIONS FOR THE MAIN PRINCIPLE OF COMMUNISM. The principle of remuneration according to work done is one of the paramount gains of socialism. It

abolishes the iniquitous inequality in the distribution of material and spiritual values existing under capitalism.

Yet, payment on the basis of work done does not signify complete equality in living conditions. Those engaged in more skilled employment earn more and, naturally, live better. Size of family is another factor determining a person's standard of living. These remnants of social inequality disappear as soon as society can fully implement the communist principle of labour and distribution: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." What conditions are essential for the realisation of this principle?

The simplest answer is: primarily *an abundance of material and spiritual values*. This presupposes a level of development of the forces of production and labour productivity which permits society to satisfy generously everyone's requirements.

It must be borne in mind that people's requirements are constantly increasing, which means that community's wealth must all the time keep ahead.

It is comparatively simple to satisfy the demand for necessities like food, clothing, footwear and housing. Scientists have estimated the amount of calories the normal human organism needs and what are its requirements for albumen, fats, carbohydrates and vitamins; how many shoes, dresses, suits and other clothing the average wardrobe requires; what size house or flat different families need, etc. These estimations are called standard indices. Knowing the population size and its likely rate of growth, it is possible to assess how long it will take to satisfy fully a certain requirement.

Human requirements are never static. People's cultural tastes develop, clothes, shoe and furniture fashions come and go. But these do not basically alter the overall demand. Once the demand for necessities is fully satisfied in accordance with standard indices, production will be able to adapt itself to any new demands and satisfy even the most discriminating tastes.

Alongside of this, mounting production, scientific and technical advance engender completely new requirements which are becoming no less important than, say, the need to dress well. A few centuries ago most people got by without books, but, nowadays, spiritual manna is almost as essential as that of the flesh. Thirty years ago hardly anyone had a television

set; now the home is not complete without one. The video-telephone is just making its bow, but in a dozen or more years there is no doubt that everyone will be wanting to use this convenient apparatus. We cannot even visualise all the new demands that will be fostered by rapidly developing science and technology under communism.

An abundance of material and spiritual values is the prime, but not the only, condition for the change-over to the communist principle. We must bear in mind that it is not only a principle of distribution but of labour as well. After all, abundance can only come from those people who selflessly give their labour for the good of the community. Thus, the other paramount condition for implementing the communist principle is the readiness of everyone to work to the very best of their abilities, to generously give the community their knowledge and skill, their talent and energy. During the construction of communism, labour, in fact, will become as much a *prime vital requirement* as the need to breathe.

Lenin once wrote that "communist labour is labour given free for the good of the community, labour performed, not for serving one's time, not for obtaining the right to certain products, not according to some pre-set and statutory standards, but labour which is voluntary, labour outside of any standards, labour given without account for remuneration, without payment stipulations, labour out of habit for the sake of the common good . . . labour like a requirement of a healthy organism".

Communist labour and distribution are interconnected, since needs cannot be fully satisfied without labour being performed to the best of everyone's ability. Consequently, two tasks have to be resolved simultaneously: to create an abundance of wealth and inculcate the communist attitude to labour in all members of the community. The key to their solution lies in consistently ensuring that all workers have a material interest in the results of their labour.

Without this interest, higher productivity and greater social wealth cannot be obtained. Without it, millions of people cannot be brought to communism, and work to the best of everyone's abilities cannot become a daily habit and prime vital requirement for all. The Party Programme points out that building communism must be based on the material interest principle and that in the coming years payment

according to work done will continue to be the main source of satisfying everyone's material and cultural needs.

Moral incentives, in particular the awareness that people are working for themselves and for the community, and not for the exploiters, have become an extremely potent force. The Party instils in Soviet people a profound awareness of the social significance of their work and guides them to a socially conscious attitude towards it. It is not mercenary interests that motivate Soviet people, but their desire to achieve the great goal of communism. And their work is repaid a hundredfold as the community's wealth steadily rises and personal well-being improves.

DISTRIBUTION THROUGH PUBLIC FUNDS. The wealth created by the socialist community is increasingly distributed among its members through the public funds.

In the early years of Soviet power, when the initial boarding schools, nurseries and similar institutions sprang up, Lenin called them the "shoots of communism" which had to be tended well and fortified. Today, a whole system of these institutions has come into being. Public funds finance education, health, the upkeep of health resorts and children's Pioneer camps, old-age and invalid pensions, etc.

This method of distribution is not, on the whole, grounded on the quantity and quality of a person's labour.

Of course, it would not do to regard distribution by way of the public funds completely identical with the communist principle of distribution according to needs, and on this basis assert that (if only in part) this principle has already been implemented. In the first place, the public funds are still not large enough to fully satisfy all the needs for which they are intended. In the second place, the results of the prevailing distribution according to labour are, in certain cases, taken into account when distributing the public funds.

The size of pensions, for instance, depends on earnings. It would be really fair to fix the same pension for everybody. After all, old-age pensioners have put in long and valiant service at their posts (big and small) and deserve equal attention and support in their old age. For the time being, however, it is not possible to run things on these lines. But that is the way the state is going. Pensions were recently increased, above all for those in the low-income brackets, while exceedingly high pensions were brought down to a

reasonable size. When the trade unions distribute accommodation at holiday homes, places at boarding schools and university grants, preference is given to the less well-off members of the community and their children. This again helps to cut down the gap in standards of living enjoyed by workers with different qualifications.

As the funds grow, the community will be able more fully to satisfy various human needs and come closer to the communist principle of distribution according to needs.

Distribution by way of the public funds helps promote *social forms of satisfying human needs*. This promises immense saving on labour and holds out a great advantage to the entire community and every individual. Let us take public catering as an illustration. The Party Programme envisages that canteen, restaurant and café prices will fall faster than those in the shops. Simultaneously, the quality and variety of meals will improve. At factory and office canteens, free meals will gradually be available (paid for out of public funds).

Because of the time-saving, more people will probably prefer their meals at public restaurants and cafés. This will lift a great burden from the shoulders of Soviet women. This will also entail the possibility and even necessity of introducing mechanisation and automation in food preparation.

When these tasks have been fulfilled, the Soviet Union will have advanced an appreciable way along the road to the practical implementation of the communist principle of distribution according to needs.

CRITICS OF COMMUNISM ANSWERED. Hardly had the main principle of communism been formulated than the antagonists of communist philosophy declared it impracticable. Present-day bourgeois ideologists continue in the same vein. "Laziness," they say, "is inherent in man's nature. Man only works when he has to eat or is driven by thirst for profit. As soon as society tries to satisfy everyone according to his needs, nobody will lift a finger. . . ."

What a lack of confidence in man! Man is not lazy by nature and certainly no day-dreamer, but a true worker and creator.

All his life, Balzac was desperately short of money. Surely no one would endeavour to prove that it was hunger or thirst for profit that drove him to write his long series of

novels, *Comédie Humaine*. He was inspired by the desire to create, the supreme form of man's spiritual development. The same desire inspires many people from every type of background—a gardener eager to grow a beautiful flower or an engineer spending his time over a new design.

Many Soviet people work to the best of their abilities and cannot work otherwise. The millions joining in the movement for communist labour are the best rebuke we can offer to the critics.

What will communist society do about idlers? The answer is quite simple: there will be none. Laziness is born of idleness and the corresponding environment. In socialist society, right from childhood a person passes through a school of labour training and learns to see creative endeavour as the supreme goal and meaning of life. And if anyone displays negligence or works in a slipshod manner, the community will be able to exert an influence on him. Today, under public influence, parasites turn into honest labourers. Why then should we imagine that in the future, when work to the best of everyone's abilities becomes a common vital need, one idler will be able to corrupt thousands of honest workers? Thousands of honest workers will naturally succeed in making any idler work conscientiously.

Another argument is that as soon as society is able to satisfy everyone's requirements, the "get-rich-quick instinct" will assert itself and everyone will try to take more for himself, thus undermining the community's wealth. Some even imagine that communism will regulate people's needs, dish out an equal portion of one and the same products, clothe everyone in standard dress, and so on. Some bemoan the fate of the "poor communist people" who will have to part with their individual tastes, give up the joys of life and turn into uniform tailor's dummies.

Again the bourgeois critic judges the communist citizen after his own image. If people steeped in bourgeois morals were to find themselves in communist society they would certainly shout "grab what you can while the going's good". But such people will not find themselves in communist society. The communist distribution principle will only be fully implemented when communist morals become dominant and have attained a sufficiently high level of communist

consciousness. An inalienable feature of communist consciousness is the reasonableness of people's requirements.

Within the bounds of a reasonable appreciation of requirements, everyone will be able to satisfy their personal tastes and inclinations: furnish their home, choose and order clothes and arrange their way of life as they please.

In recent years bourgeois critics of communism have been joined by people who take a petty-bourgeois standpoint. Their chief object of attack is the principle of material interest. They maintain that to pay more money for greater and better quality work makes people mean and selfish, and the fact that Soviet people are enjoying a higher standard of living and are able to acquire refrigerators and TV sets deprives them of their revolutionary spirit and leads to the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R.

This is a patently obvious petty-bourgeois idea of socialism—where universal equalisation is said to reign; it pictures revolutionary spirit as only belonging to people living in semi-starvation. If things were as the ultra-revolutionaries maintain, communism would be out of the question, since any socialist society would inevitably be menaced by the restoration of capitalism, as the people's welfare improved!

Communism cannot be built with ideas like that and these critics will not succeed in diverting Communists-Leninists from the only correct path along which the Soviet Communist Party and Soviet people are travelling. People make a revolution and join the struggle for socialism to win for themselves and their children a life of abundance, freedom and happiness. They attain this by their selfless labour and thereby show an example to their brothers in the capitalist countries. The highest internationalist duty of Soviet people today to working people all over the world is to build communism successfully.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE INTO COMMUNIST SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION

A STATE OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE. Lenin's plan for building socialism was accomplished due to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Having brought about the complete and final victory of socialism and the transition of society to the con-

struction of communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its historic mission and has ceased to be indispensable in the U.S.S.R. from the point of view of the tasks of internal development. The Soviet state, which arose as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has become a *political organisation or state of the entire people*.

Since the working class is the foremost and best organised force of Soviet society, it plays a leading role also in building communism. It will have completed its role as leader of society after communism is built and classes disappear. This leadership no longer implies political domination, since the social, political and ideological unity of the whole people has been consolidated.

Once the class antagonism—the main reason for the state's existence—has been done away with, why perpetuate the state?

While we cannot go over to the communist principle of labour and distribution, the state must exercise control over the amount of work and the rate of consumption. Only the state is today capable of exercising this control.

The state is needed both for administration of the economy according to a single plan and for ensuring labour discipline. Law-breakers have to be dealt with both by bringing the law to bear on them and by applying measures of public influence.

The state is also needed to perform some important functions of exercising the internationalist duty of the Soviet people to the workers of the world: co-operation with the other socialist countries for organising the world socialist economic system; assistance to the national liberation movement; maintenance of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries in the interests of lasting peace.

As long as international tension exists, the Soviet people are obliged to fortify their army that protects the people's peaceful labours and strengthen the state security organs which stand in the way of any intrigues against the Soviet Union.

The state of the entire people is not an ossified political organisation, but a new and vital stage in the socialist state's development into communist social administration. The most salient feature of this stage is the all-round extension and perfection of *socialist democracy*.

There are two ways of drawing the working people into state affairs: *popular representation* and *direct democracy*. The Party Programme envisages a combination of both.

A person can participate in government personally or through his representatives. To the Soviets, for example, the populace elects the most authoritative people, those meriting universal respect by their work, those possessing good organisational talents and attentiveness. Deputies are representatives who are mandated by the people and act in their name. They decide all manner of political issues, big and small.

In addition, millions take part directly in running the state affairs through their mass meetings at factory, farm and office, where the most urgent production questions are discussed and decisions taken.

Popular representation and direct democracy are closely combined in the mass organisations led by Party, trade-union, Y.C.L. or other elected committees. And the most vital issues are discussed at mass meetings where decisions are taken by voting.

The same procedure goes for much organisations like the house-management committees, parents' committees, comrades' courts and all kinds of councils and commissions, running into hundreds of thousands. They all work in close contact with the representative government bodies—the Soviets—under the leadership of Party organisations.

As the Soviet Union has become a state of the entire people, the whole state apparatus and methods of its functioning have been made more democratic. It was recently made law, for example, that at least one-third of the total number of deputies to a Soviet should be elected anew each time. Deputies to the Soviets are to be elected, as a rule, for not more than two consecutive terms. This systematic renewal of the leading bodies brings a wider range of able persons into them and forestalls abuse of authority. In time, this principle will apply to all state officials.

Important draft laws will be increasingly put forward for popular discussion and then to a nation-wide referendum.

TOWARDS SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION. Because of the radical changes in the country's economic, social and political life and in her international status, work has commenced on a new Constitution. The new Constitution will be for the state of the entire people.

An ever-growing number of citizens will participate in running the state. The Communist Party strives to draw everyone into the administration of state affairs. As this task nears its complete solution the state administration will consequently lose its political character and no longer be the concern of a special body of people, i.e., government officials. Already today, certain functions which used to be performed by government agencies are now in the hands of mass organisations. Communist social administration continues to be formed and consolidated as the state and the mass organisations develop and strengthen their ties with the people.

Under communism there will be no state power nor a special body of officials exclusively versed in administration. But, irrespective of the form of social organisation, there will always be a certain moral authority, on the one hand, and a certain subordination, on the other. In such a complicated and accomplished economic organism as communist production, it would simply be impossible to get along without some form of centralised leadership.

That means that authority will continue to exist under communism, but authority devoid of any political character.

The withering away of the state as an apparatus of coercion, the withering away of law as a sum total of statutory standards of behaviour enforced by the power of the state, by no means implies that there will be no rules of behaviour in communist society. Indeed, the generally recognised rules of communist way of living will become very much part and parcel of everyone's life.

Sure enough, even communist society may have its specific excesses. Misdemeanours born of carelessness and personal squabbles are perfectly feasible. But they will be quickly put right by the immediate reaction of the rest of society, by a person's inclination to observe law and order always and everywhere, and the conviction that measures taken will be at once approved by the whole of the community.

Under communism, in step with society's advance, there will be a transformation, not disappearance, of the functions of economic and cultural administration, of the upbringing and training of the younger generation, of the organisation of labour and consumption—the very functions which are now being performed by government bodies. These affairs

will be administered by a certain voluntary apparatus, a non-state system of social administration. Although this apparatus will not bear any political character, it will be stronger than any state because of its immense moral authority.

CONDITIONS FOR THE STATE TO WITHER AWAY.
The state inevitably arose in certain historical conditions and will just as inevitably pass out of existence in the future.

The withering away of the state will not come all of a sudden, like a bolt from the blue. It will be a lengthy and gradual process. "The complete triumph of communism is needed for the state to entirely wither away," said Lenin.

Conditions for this withering away are created during the building of communism. First, there are economic prerequisites: a high level of the forces of production stipulating that people's growing material and spiritual requirements are satisfied fully and constantly and the resultant dispensation of control over the amount of work and the rate of consumption.

Secondly social prerequisites are also part of the withering away process. There must be elimination of all traces of class divisions and distinctions, distinctions between the town and country, and between mental and manual labour. Only then will people's relations within society lose their political character.

Finally, ideological prerequisites are to be established before the state can wither away. Everyone must display a high level of social consciousness and culture; all survivals of capitalism must be rooted out from people's minds and way of life; and communist morals must be completely victorious.

These are the main internal prerequisites for the state to wither away. Besides these, there are certain external conditions which must be fulfilled. Socialism must triumph throughout the world thus obviating any danger of attack from imperialism.

The withering away of the state is a complex social process. Since the system of communist social administration will take some time before it is organisationally perfect, it is quite likely that the Communist Party will remain for a time even after the state has withered away. After it has ensured that all links in social administration are working smoothly and efficiently, the Party, too, will have accomplished its historic mission and will dissolve among the rest of the community.

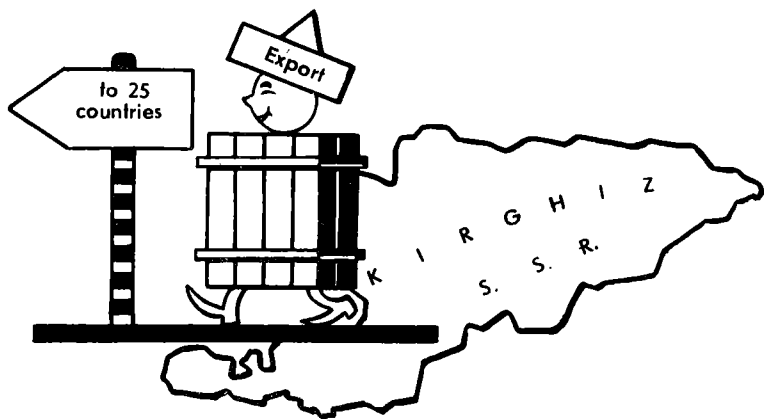
THE PROSPERITY AND RAPPROCHEMENT OF SOVIET NATIONS

TWO TENDENCIES IN THE SPHERE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONALITIES. Socialism united the many Soviet nations and nationalities in one big family. Like any healthy and harmonious family they are flourishing: their economy and culture are thriving and fraternal ties between them are being consolidated under the banner of proletarian internationalism.

Under socialism, two interlinked progressive tendencies are operating at the same time. First, there is the development of each nation. Secondly, the socialist nations are drawing closer and closer together.

Thanks to friendship and mutual assistance, the formerly backward national minorities of the old Russian Empire have been brought up to the level of Central Russia. The chief aim of Lenin's nationalities policy—actual equality among nations, has been achieved. Today, all the national republics have a highly developed industry, a mechanised agriculture and well-qualified experts in all departments of their economic and cultural life.

At the Twenty-Second Party Congress, Communists from the former backwoods of Russia told how their republics were overtaking many countries of the world which not so long ago were priding themselves on their advanced civilisation.



A Turkmen delegate said that in the percentage of people studying and in standard of health service, his republic was surging ahead of the Middle Eastern countries and even developed capitalist nations like the U.S.A., France and Italy. A Kirghiz delegate spoke of a larger student body in his republic than in France, Belgium and Italy. The once industry-free Kirghizia now delivers modern industrial equipment to 25 countries. A Tatar representative reported that productivity in the Tatar oil industry was over one and a half times more than the level reached in the U.S.A.

The Programme underlines that "the Party will continue its policy of ensuring the actual equality of all nations and nationalities with full consideration for their interests and devoting special attention to those areas of the country which are in need of more rapid development".

And the more the nations develop, the greater the need for closer co-ordination. Industrial and agricultural advance and increasing specialisation of their economies are constantly accompanied by more co-operation between the republics. Nowadays, no large construction project can go ahead without assistance from factories in many of the republics. Ploughing up the virgin lands and laying industrial bases in the eastern regions could only be accomplished by common effort from every one of the Soviet republics.

On the question of economic management, the Party has, in recent years, extended the powers of the republics by transferring to them jurisdiction over most industrial undertakings within their territory. This has engendered a need for closer co-operation of the republics on economic matters. On the proposal of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. a special Economic Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities was set up in order to co-ordinate efforts of the republics.

Only three or four decades ago, the scientific centres in the country were in the big cities like Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and a few other places. Now all republics have every facility for scientific research and their own gifted scientists. It is clear that the promotion of science must occur along the lines of closer co-operation between scientists of all republics.

All Soviet people are much richer for the books, films and musical compositions from the various nationalities.

Their horizons are immeasurably widened as they discover fresh sources of aesthetic enjoyment. This brings them to a deeper appreciation of the cultures of various nations, facilitates understanding and a keener sense of artistic values.

The development of every nation, therefore, will be a tremendous gain to the whole of the community, will foster a profound mutual respect and strengthen friendship among nations. *Relations between nations in the U.S.S.R. develop along the lines of their prosperity, achieved through their closer rapprochement, which is attained through their prosperity. Such is the inner dialectic of Soviet development.*

When we talk about nations prospering, we have in mind the best and most progressive aspects of national culture, healthy traditions and habits that actually serve to enrich the cultures of all nations. But every nation still bears traces of the old way of life, harmful customs and habits which die hard.

Nationalism is a particularly tenacious and pernicious thing. There is nothing more repulsive to the spirit of socialism than national prejudice and egoism. The Soviet law severely punishes anyone found guilty of discrimination or violation of rights on national or racial grounds. Soviet citizens are brought up in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, equal rights and friendship among nations. It is everyone's sacred duty to remain true to these ideals in everything they do. No one can be a socially conscious builder of communism without being a true internationalist.

COMMON OUTLOOK. The growing rapprochement and mutual enrichment of nations contribute to the *development of common traits in their outlook*, fostered by the new system and embodying the finest traditions of all the Soviet peoples.

A traveller through the Soviet Union paying a visit to Central Asia, the Baltic republics, Transcaucasia and Moldavia would certainly notice much that is different in people's way of life—their outward appearance, dress and language, but, at the same time, he could not help noticing many traits common to all Soviet citizens. That is hardly surprising, since the community of convictions and the same social conditions are bound to affect people's outlook.

National character is extremely stable, being formed under the impact of many features of national life. People of various nations or groups of related nations display features

that arose due to different temperaments. Yet this in no way hampers the development of new common traits of the *Soviet Man*. By virtue of the new communist morals that are spreading now, the Soviet man is becoming conspicuous for his efficiency, range of outlook, generosity, magnanimity, forthrightness, lofty principles, etc.

In the course of communist construction, a common culture develops as a prototype for communist culture. While demonstrating the multiplicity of styles and forms of creativity, Soviet writers, composers and artists use a single method of artistic expression—socialist realism.

Modern architecture is also a good example of this. Architects of every nation naturally display the finest elements of their own architecture. At the same time, they endeavour to create buildings answering the aesthetic ideals of our times. They search out the most simple and expressive forms with due regard for economy and convenience. Concrete, plastics and glass are better used along the new architectural lines. As a result, a new architectural style is being born, combining the best national traditions. It is not an eclectic conglomeration of various styles and manners (which is, of course, senseless), but a synthesis of a universal and national architectural style.

Another important question is being tackled from the internationalist point of view—that of the *development of national languages*.

All Soviet nations have every possibility to develop their mother tongue, and enrich it as a vital ingredient in promoting their national culture. To this end they need a common medium of intercommunication. The Russian language has, in effect, become this common medium, not by decree but by common agreement. Russian is the mother tongue of the largest Soviet nation (more than half of the country's population are Russians), and possesses an exceptionally rich vocabulary and possibilities for expressing the most delicate shades of meaning. An immense literature exists in Russian both native and in translated form. Russian is the language of Lenin, Chernyshevsky, Tolstoi, Chekhov, Pushkin, Gogol, Gorky, Mayakovsky, Pavlov, Michurin, Timiryazev and Vavilov.

Soviet people will continue their study of Russian and use it as a means of communicating with other nations. This

progressive tendency, however, does not in the least rule out the promotion and enrichment of the other non-Russian tongues. While noting the positive significance of the study of Russian in addition to the native language, the Party Programme strongly emphasises that there must be "no privileges, restrictions or compulsions in the use of this or that language".

When communism is victorious all over the world, national distinctions will be finally obliterated. There will be one common language and one common culture which will embrace all the wealth of the different cultures. But this is still a long way off and it is now impossible to foresee when this will come about.

MOULDING THE NEW MAN

THE COMMUNIST CITIZEN IS BEING BORN TODAY

AT LOGGERHEADS WITH BOURGEOIS CRITICS. Communism brings people an abundance of material and spiritual values, thus creating conditions for their happiness. In return for all this, certain requirements are demanded. Only work can produce these values. Equality is only possible when man treats man as brother and friend. In the full sense of the word freedom is beyond the reach of those under the spell of religious superstition. Real happiness is not for the spiritually poor, those who do not share the joy of knowledge, and those who are deaf and blind to the beauty of the arts and literature.

In other words, when building communism, the community must prepare its citizens for it, cultivate noble qualities in them, assist them to root out everything which besmirches human dignity. This is a far more complicated business than would appear from certain utopian novels, in which no one explains from where the "ready-made" Communists have sprung or where everybody has disappeared who does not fit in with society's requirements. Communism has to be built with the "human material" offered by history and it is a much variegated material—much of it good, but a fair amount of it bad.

The main difficulty is that human beings are not characters in the *commedia d'ell'arte*, each of whom bears one and the same mask for ever—one is bad, another is good, one is addicted to vice, another is a model of virtue. The good and the bad are often present in the same mind. The only way to educate new people is to reshape their minds, their attitudes to work, the community and the family. This necessitates *a revolution in their consciousness*, a revolution in the full sense of the word.

Is this really possible?

"No," reply many bourgeois sociologists. "Man by nature is an immutable being. For two thousand years he has been taught not to kill, steal and deceive. Yet blood still flows, robbery flourishes and brother betrays brother. Granted, you can get people partially used to living as a community, you can get them to observe the rules of propriety, but you will never kill the beast in man or cure him of his vices."

"Not so," say the Communists. "Man can be re-educated." The founders of Marxism showed that social being determines social consciousness, a fact that has been borne out throughout history. For two or three thousand years, man's external appearance has hardly altered, and if a Roman or Ancient Greek appeared among us today in modern dress he would not be conspicuous in a crowd. But the mind of our contemporary is fantastically richer than that of last century's citizens, let alone that of the Ancient Greeks.

Vices will die a natural death along with the social conditions that begot them. Private property and exploitation of man by man are the overriding conditions engendering all evils. Private property divides society into a handful of rich people who squander society's wealth, and a mass of workers who are robbed materially and spiritually and deprived of a chance to develop and apply their creative talents. In the world of private enterprise, bourgeois individualism inevitably rules the roost. It sets people against each other; it lays down the principles of bourgeois morals: "everyone for himself", "either you take over someone else or they take over you", "one law for the rich and one for the poor", "man is the wolf of man", etc.

Apart from the objective social conditions in capitalist society which nurture "the war of all against all" (as John Hobbes once put it), there is the whole bourgeois ideology glorifying the "strong man" who can grip his rivals by the throat, who climbs to power and fortune through ruthlessness and deceit. Ideas like this are most blatantly expressed in the fascist theories reflecting the views of the reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie. The ideological father of fascism, the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, proclaimed the coming of the age of the "superman" and "master race" which was to steep the world in blood and turn the whole of mankind back to slavery.

Bourgeois morals stand opposed to the revolutionary

morals of the workers who carefully preserve all the finest moral traits produced by mankind over the ages and pit them in battle against bourgeois ideology. This alone convincingly exposes the bourgeois slander about man's nature. No, it is not man's nature that is guilty of his vices, but the capitalist system which mutilates man's real nature.

Revolution in consciousness is the most involved of all revolutions. But it is bound to win in a society where the very conditions of people's lives objectively facilitate a transformation of their psychology and triumph of the new, communist morals.

The controversy over man's nature and his destiny has long shifted from theory to practice.

In capitalist society, the working man is impressed upon that he is a pygmy. From the pulpit, the TV screen and the press, voices vie with each other in trying to impress the worker that all life on earth is a thin mould on a cheese, and he is just a speck in the face of the elements, an obedient servant to the will of "a supreme being".

In the other ideological camp, people are being brought up to a communist understanding of man's purpose on earth. Man is not a slave to the elements, but the creator of his own happiness and the master of nature. He is not a drop in the ocean of social turmoil, but the maker of history. He has the ability to repair the damage that has already been done to human dignity. And he does this with his own hands in building a new world for himself.

COMMUNIST EDUCATION. Under socialism, objective factors underly the complicated process of educating the new man. They are the common ownership of the means of production, socialist democracy and the political and ideological unity of the entire community.

Soviet life is a school for educating the new man. Socialist society spares no pains to ensure everybody a chance to obtain education, to acquire a speciality, to develop his or her talents and apply them to the common good. The community is not only fired to this by its motto "everything for the benefit of man", but also by the knowledge that the wider people's education and outlook, the better the service they can render the community.

Soviet people, from birth, enter a world dominated by the principles of comradeship, where there are no exploiters and

no exploited, where everyone fit for work is liable to do so. The great power of collective labour sets the seal on the whole pattern of living and thinking. The finest moral qualities are cultivated among the members of the socialist community.

Because socialism's political and economic system facilitates the formation of a harmoniously developed human being, this does not imply that the revolution in consciousness is accomplished by itself, in a spontaneous way. Society cannot wholly rely on objective factors and wait while they do the work for it. It endeavours to speed up the process of remaking consciousness by all the ideological media at its disposal. The school, literature and the arts, the press, radio, television and other mass media constantly propagate the ideas of collectivism and humanism; they praise the heroes of labour; they instil in people qualities worthy of communist man. Today, when the Soviet people are directly engaged in building communism, *communist education has become the prime task of all Party and mass organisations.*

This combination of objective and subjective factors (ideological influence) is a reliable guarantee that the community will be able to educate the new man. How long this takes, very much depends on people's attitudes. Agreed that it is a hard job trying to teach the ABC to someone who is not interested or to instil good qualities in someone who refuses to own up to his failings. In other words, nothing can accelerate or facilitate the educational process better than people's sincere wish to become better and more honest, that is, their *self-education*.

The work for communism encourages people to steadily enrich their store of knowledge and work habits, and nurtures a need to improve their moral traits. It is certainly understandable that the builders of communism, first to live under communism, are vitally interested in preparing themselves and their comrades for this.

But what is the answer to such questions as:

Whom do we emulate? Should we look for the ideal communist man in novels or in real life?

There is no need to emulate literary heroes when there are heroes in real life. Communist traits appear in the ideas and deeds of the best Soviet people, in their attitude to work, in their selfless devotion to the cause, in their principled

stand, their honesty and other moral qualities. Here are the best models for emulation.

What traits can be called communist and what is the essence of the new, communist consciousness? Above all it is a *scientific world outlook*.

SCIENTIFIC WORLD OUTLOOK

THE WAY TO SPIRITUAL FREEDOM. Imagine a person with no world outlook. How does he orientate himself in his surroundings or determine his place in life? He will never have ideals, clear-cut goals or convictions. The ship of life will toss him backwards and forwards and he will never understand its meaning and what occurs in it. He will be a slave of his environment.

Hence the absurd claim of certain philosophers that man's spiritual freedom entails freedom from any ideology or world outlook.

The further we examine man's spiritual world, the more we are convinced that there is nobody without some sort of world outlook. Everyone has his own ideas on the world and the meaning of life. But these ideas are usually far removed from being scientific—in which case a person will be the prisoner of false, perhaps religious or petty-bourgeois, ideas.

A scientific world outlook is like a door opening onto the world of spiritual freedom because it gives man genuine freedom of choice of action. In everyone's life there comes a time when important decisions have to be taken independently. Without any ideological preparation, without having learned how to correctly assess developments, it is easy to make a mistake, to take a false and, perhaps, irretrievable step. Communist consciousness helps people to take correct decisions.

A scientific world outlook enables people to fully understand the course and perspectives of world development, assists them to a correct view of international and domestic events and consciously build their life on communist lines. The Programme stresses the prime importance of shaping a scientific world outlook in all Soviet people.

For this one needs knowledge—the building material from which a scientific world outlook is shaped. All the same, facts

and knowledge are not worth much if they are scattered about like single bricks. They have to be interpreted and brought to some sort of order. This can be done by studying the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, the C.P.S.U. Programme and other Communist Party material. The main thing is to see how the acquired knowledge works out in life, apply it in everyday practice. Only then will knowledge turn into firm communist convictions.

In pre-revolutionary schools, the children's first rule was: the mother of learning is repetition. Nowadays it has a different ring: the mother of learning is application.

In his speech to the Third Y.C.L. Congress, Lenin pointed out that a bookish knowledge of communism gleaned from booklets and articles is worthless without work and struggle. You can only become real Communists by working with peasants and workers, he declared. Lenin asserted that the shaping of a scientific world outlook and the moulding of a new man are directly dependent on the work of the people creating a new society. In elaborating on this idea, the Programme states that communist ideas and communist deeds should blend organically in the behaviour of every person.

MAN AND SOCIETY. The communist world outlook and ideology is the basis of people's realisation of their duty to the community, of their patriotic and internationalist consciousness.

A high sense of public duty is the moral responsibility of all to their country, a readiness to do all they can for its welfare. "Duty," said revolutionary leader Felix Dzerzhinsky, "is not an obligation, but a need, a requirement, a profound conviction, the meaning of life."

Public duty does not always coincide with personal plans and intentions. They may clash on occasions. This is where communist consciousness comes in—a person's world outlook, ideological principles. The ability to subordinate one's desires to one's duty is a sign of political and moral maturity. And that is how hundreds of thousands of Soviet men and women acted when they spurned a comfortable life in the cities for hardship and sacrifice in order to sow grain in the virgin lands and open up the natural riches of the rigorous northern regions.

A clear and proper appreciation of public duty gives rise to *socialist patriotism and internationalism*.

Patriotism is a deep-going social feeling which has rooted over thousands of years since the emergence of separate countries. It is an expression of love for one's country, its history and people, of whom a person feels himself an integral part. Socialist patriotism implies unstinting devotion to the socialist system and the communist cause.

Patriotism is one of the best feelings of man. It inspires people to action in the name of their country. Poets and novelists have often written of a dying man recalling his homeland, his home, a favourite weeping willow or silver birch. Soviet people associate their country with more than scenes from nature dear to their hearts. They treasure memories of Young Pioneer gatherings, their youth in the Y.C.L., the unforgettable atmosphere of comradeship which distinguishes the lives of every Soviet collective. To the mind of a Soviet citizen, the homeland and the socialist system are one.

But socialist patriotism is no blind feeling. Real love for one's country must be love with one's eyes open.

Soviet people, for instance, may be justly proud of their achievements, but can boldly admit their failings and bend every effort to remove them. There is nothing to be ashamed of in adopting the finest achievements of other nations.

A distinguishing feature of socialist patriotism is its bond with internationalism, embodying deep respect for other nations, their cultures and traditions. There can be no place for national egoism in socialist society. In their fight for communism, Soviet people are fulfilling their internationalist duty to all workers of the world. Soviet internationalism is expressed in the material, political and moral support rendered to all nations battling for their liberation and national sovereignty. A citizen of socialist society is ever ready to extend a hand in fraternal assistance to any nation.

Now that socialism has become a world system, the unity of socialist patriotism and internationalism is particularly in evidence. Born of October 1917, socialist patriotism has exceeded the bounds of one country and today implies loyalty not only to one's country but also to the entire socialist community.

Some time in the future, all nations of the world will be members of a single communist family. Then, patriotism and internationalism will blend into a single great love for all humanity.

MARXIST ATHEISM

Without special reference to Marxist atheism, a full understanding of communist philosophy is impossible. Literally, "atheism" means rejection of religion. But Marxism goes further. To be a Marxist atheist means not simply to be non-religious, but to be a passionate and irreconcilable fighter against all forms of religion, to take an unwavering stand in explaining nature and social life from a scientific-materialist point of view.

COMMUNISM FREES PEOPLE FROM RELIGIOUS DELUSION. We have already mentioned the roots and essence of religion, its reactionary role in society. Now we must try to understand how religion fades away and how religious survivals in people's minds are overcome. In contrast to atheists of the 17th and 18th centuries who held that extension of knowledge was only responsible for this, Marxists put the anti-religious struggle on a social basis, tie it in with overcoming the system of exploitation and with the change in the whole system of social relations.

The chief means of rooting out religious survivals and implanting the noble qualities of the people of communist society is to be found in the new, socialist reality, in the creative endeavour of millions of working people. A believer may be told time and again that there is no god, but it will not do much good. People see for themselves, in the actual work of building communism, the whole inconsistency of their belief, they see that human beings are capable of organising their affairs without any godly assistance, without divine guidance.

When it eliminated class antagonism, socialism tore up the main social roots for the existence of religion in the U.S.S.R. It ensured people freedom of conscience and the right to profess any religion or to be godless and to conduct atheist propaganda. By government decrees of January 28, 1918, the Church was separated from the Soviet state, and the school from the Church. This put an end to all the privileges of the Church and all its means of oppression over people's minds. Nobody in the Soviet Union has the right to refuse to fulfil his civil duties out of religious convictions. All Soviet citizens, religious and non-religious, are equal before the law.

Every Soviet school child knows about the origin of the earth, how life began and how man's consciousness took shape and developed. Man has bravely penetrated the expanses of outer space, his artificial satellites, spaceships and interplanetary stations are unravelling one earthly mystery after another. Every new scientific success demonstrates the power of the human mind.

Religion and the Church are not going to give in easily. In the past many churchmen have been associated with anti-Soviet activities. This brought them into conflict with many decent churchgoers who welcomed the new Soviet state heart and soul. The Church was obliged to change its attitude to the Soviet authorities, to take a more objective and loyal stand. But it would be foolhardy to imagine that from that moment religion and the Church became harmless. They poison people's minds, stultify their spiritual and moral development, hamper their social activity. Under socialism as well, religion remains a bulwark of ignorance, puts a brake on society's spiritual development.

Soviet people are persistently struggling to affirm the moral ideals of the new, communist society, a society of justice and humaneness. But what does religion teach, what morality does it sermonise?

What the church teaching boils down to is that people should prepare themselves on earth wholly for the life hereafter, thus scorning all earthly interests and blessings.

Religion, however, is not averse to prescribing to itself good standards of behaviour, traditions and morals. Take, for example, the well-known religious commandments: "Thou shalt not kill", "Thou shalt not steal", "Honour thy father and thy mother", etc. Are these, in fact, God's commandments? Not in the least. They are standards of behaviour that have taken shape amidst the people over the centuries and have no relation to religion. They have merely been adopted by the Church and made out to have been ordained by God.

Some in the church hierarchy even claim that the moral code of communism is taken from the commandments. This claim is untenable, for religious ideas and religious morality only strengthen ignorance and illiteracy, hypocrisy and servility.

Certain sects are particularly pernicious; they cultivate rites which frequently cause warped minds or premature death.

Religion implants an ideology of slavish servility, paralyzes the will and mind of those who believe in it. Communism affirms the joy of life on earth and tempers people's will.

THE NEW MAN IS TEMPERED IN LABOUR

A SCHOOL OF LABOUR. Work is a source of inspiration and spiritual uplift, inculcating in man such qualities as independence, initiative, perspicacity, efficiency and strength of character.

This is what the Russian educationalist Konstantin Ushinsky had to say on the significance of labour: "Man cannot advance without labour. He does not remain on one spot without it. He is drawn backwards. Man's body, heart and mind need labour, and this need is so urgent that if, for some reason, man does not make some contribution to life through labour, he loses the true way ahead and is faced with two other paths, both equally disastrous: the path of unending dissatisfaction with life, despairing apathy and petulant boredom or the path of voluntary, imperceptible self-destruction, along which a person quickly treads to childish whims or bestial delights. Along both paths death overtakes man alive, because it is labour—personal, free labour—that is life."

Genuinely free labour is only possible in a free society. Exploitation kills all joy of work. In the inhuman machine of capitalist enterprise, man is turned into an appendage of the machine. The fruits of his labour are appropriated by the capitalists. Labour becomes a back-breaking burden for the worker which he has to bear to earn his means of subsistence. But even that labour is out of reach of many. Millions of fit and physically strong people are deprived of the elementary human right to work. Nevertheless, even under capitalism people of labour are distinguished by their high moral standards.

Socialism frees labour of the chains of exploitation. Free labour is clearly changing into creative endeavour before our very eyes, and is being helped on its way by technical progress. Take a steel founder's job. With today's level of mechan-

isation, considerably more knowledge is required than previously. The same applies to a turner at an automatic lathe. Whereas we used to talk of a skilled worker's "golden hands", we must now add "golden brains".

This does not mean we have to wait until technology has transformed the nature of work and everywhere turned it into creative endeavour. Any work can be made interesting and creative if a conscious attitude is displayed towards it. And this means applying one's capabilities, doing the job in hand as well as possible. With such an approach, the most "ordinary" job can become creative.

The striving to try out new ideas and seek out a fresh approach to the job in hand gives a boost to a worker's natural skills and inclinations, somehow elevates them. This conscientious attitude to work, this enthusiasm for labour enable people doing the most ordinary of jobs to display and develop their natural gifts.

Creative endeavour brings happiness and enjoyment to work, gives man deep-going satisfaction in what he does and enriches his mind. Work like this becomes a prime necessity of life.

New relations between people are shaped in collective labour. Friendship, mutual assistance and comradely co-operation become the dominating relations. The moral content of work is constantly being promoted and people are cultivating the habit of framing their actions in accordance with the demands and opinion of the collective. The conviction that one's work is needed by the people helps the worker overcome great difficulties and multiplies his strength. People of creative endeavour always lead lives that are interesting, inspired by the search for the new. Every passing day opens up wider horizons before them. These are genuinely happy people. They are already living in the morrow.

"I'll tell you this," said Ukrainian farmer Nadezhda Zaglada, Hero of Socialist Labour, "if work brings a person happiness, if, when working, he is elated, then he is very close to communism. He won't grow old for a long time and will always be young in heart."

Soviet people look on work as a matter of honour, the guiding principle of their lives. That is why collective farmers, workers and intellectuals warmly applauded Nadezhda Zaglada's article "Guard the Honour of the Grain-

Grower". She writes that nowadays it is impossible to live without conscientious work and roundly condemns those people who do not put their heart and soul into their work.

Idlers and layabouts only make their spiritual world narrow and worthless, and make their interests and desires so petty. The idler is a left-over from exploiting society with its regard for labour as a difficult and onerous obligation. At best, the parasite looks on work as a means of satisfying merely his personal needs. Such a person is a moral cripple and is deprived of the chief happiness in life. He robs himself as well as the community.

A GENERATION OF HEROES. Soviet people may well be proud of the heroic exploits of such people as courageous Civil War commanders Vasily Chapayev and Sergei Lazo, writers Nikolai Ostrovsky and Arkady Gaidar, young partisans in the last war Oleg Koshevoi and Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya.

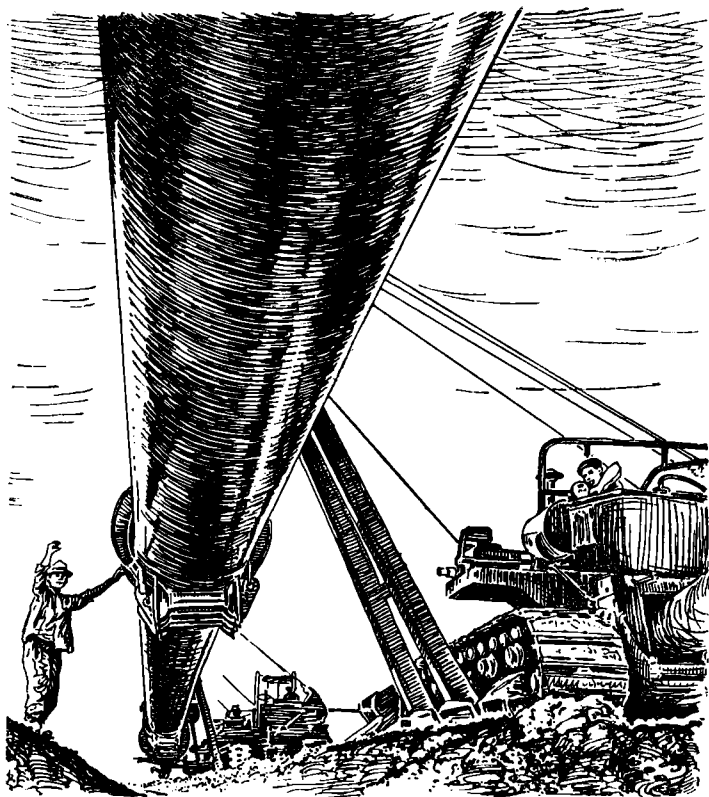
Of course, there have always been brave men and women, and inspiring exploits to admire. But socialism has far extended the sphere of heroism. It has thrown open the gates to heroism in the main sphere of human life—work. "There are no grander heroes in the world than the heroes of labour, of creative endeavour", said Maxim Gorky.

When a person has realised the profound meaning behind his work, its social significance, when he has felt himself a real fighter, then he is ready to accomplish anything. Then you will see heroism in the most everyday job. Soviet people measure their lives by the good they bring their country. The communist attitude to work is a real revolutionary romanticism.

In the forefront of the battle for communism, many thousands of heroes have grown up—such people as maize-farmer Yevgeniya Dolinyuk, miner Nikolai Mamai, fitter Victor Yermilov, tractor driver Alexander Gitalov and machine operator Tursuna Akhunova.

Heroism today is the fight for producing more material values, for a larger amount and higher quality of finished products, for higher productivity and creative endeavour.

A little more than a quarter of a century has passed since the institution of the highest award for services to the economy or culture—Hero of Socialist Labour. Today, there are approximately 10,000 Soviet people with the award. They



Gazli-Urals gas pipeline to the credit of the Y.C.L.

include workers in industry, agriculture, transport, communications and construction, scientists, doctors and teachers.

For outstanding services to their country over 60 Heroes of Socialist Labour have been awarded a second gold medal—the Hammer and Sickle. They include M. V. Keldysh, President of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, I. I. Bridke, miner, A. N. Tupolyev, aircraft designer, A. A. Ulesov, builder, B. M. Bagirova, collective-farm woman, and A. Gitalov, tractor driver.

Uzbek collective-farm chairman K. Tursunkulov has three Hero of Labour gold stars to his name; Academician

I. V. Kurchatov, nuclear scientist, and B. L. Vannikov, one of the outstanding organisers of defence industry during the war, were thrice-decorated Heroes of Socialist Labour.

All the tasks involved in communist construction can only be resolved through selfless labour. Creative endeavour enriches man's mind and makes him spiritually more beautiful. And when they are accomplishing such feats of labour, people acquire, too, the precious moral qualities of the new man. That is why the whole *crux of communist education* is the shaping of a conscientious attitude to work.

COLLECTIVISM AND HUMANISM

ALL FOR ONE AND ONE FOR ALL. The socialist world is a world of collectivism. The Soviet citizen grows up in a collective, gratefully accepts its help and, in turn, renders it all the knowledge and experience he can. A person feels much more certain of himself if he is an equal and respected member of a collective. And it is certainly no easy matter to endure the collective's disapproval.

Collectivists are sociable people in the full meaning of the term inasmuch as they are not only kind and thoughtful to their comrades, but deeply concerned with the affairs of the collective and feel themselves personally responsible for its successes and failures. To learn to live in a collective means to regard oneself an integral part of it and always to remain true to the guiding principle of collectivism: *one for all and all for one*. When people take their stand by this rule, they harmoniously blend their personal interests with those of the community.

What is meant by personal interests in a socialist sense are individual material and cultural needs which are shaped in socialist society and satisfied in accordance with the state of production. Building a new society, therefore, implies that prime personal interests coincide with those of the community.

Occasionally, personal and communal interests come into conflict. For instance, the need to criticise somebody arouses a doubt—perhaps the person will be offended. Is it worth emphasising that people should adhere to the interests of the collective?

Personal endeavour springs from an urge to do everything so that the collective can successfully accomplish the job in hand. This creative endeavour adorns the collective and its members and is no longer an expression of the subordination of personal to communal interests, but their *confluence*.

Take the example of mill-girl Valentina Gaganova. By switching over to a backward work team, she gave up high wages and bade farewell to those with whom it had been easy to work. Having lost faith in their own capabilities, Gaganova's new work-mates met her guardedly, but she helped them back onto their feet and into the ranks of the mill's leading workers. Without realising it, Valentina Gaganova had turned a new page in the history of Soviet collectivism.

The collective gives a person much and they have every right to ask much from it. Whoever violates the collective's rules, lets down or even shames his comrades, is in for heavy criticism. It is just as important a rule in Soviet society to uncover failings, not put up with them. Otherwise, there can be no healthy collective feeling.

No one likes criticism, even when it is known to be just. However, there is nothing worse than a man persisting in defending or denying his blunders. Anyone who treasures public respect will attentively listen to the remarks of his comrades, will swallow his pride and endeavour to correct his mistakes. Self-critical behaviour not only testifies to honesty, but also to *an unassuming and modest nature*.

"Never think you know it all," wrote the famous Russian physiologist Ivan Pavlov addressing young people. "No matter how high you are rated, always be brave enough to tell yourself you are an ignoramus. Never let your pride run away with you. Because of it, you can be pig-headed where you should agree, because of it, you can turn down good advice and friendly assistance, because of it, you can lose your sense of objectivity."

Work in a collective has become a tremendous means of educating the new man. It is no accident that Soviet people are advancing to communist labour chiefly in a collective: field brigades, work-shop groups, factory teams, etc.

The finest craftsmen, the most outstanding statesmen, scientists, artists, writers and other experts in their respective fields have grown up in a collective. Experience has certainly nailed the lie perpetrated by bourgeois ideologists that col-

lectivism puts personality in a straight-jacket and leads to man's depersonalisation. The wider people's ties with the collective, the richer and more beautiful are their spiritual world and moral make-up, the more complete and more vivid their personality becomes.

MAN IS TO MAN A FRIEND, COMRADE AND BROTHER. To be a collectivist is to love people and wish them well. As moral qualities, collectivism and humanism are twins. "Man," said one time Soviet President Mikhail Kalinin, "must love people. If he loves people, he will live better and more happily, for no one lives as miserably as the misanthrope."

Acts of humanism are important not only in terms of the results they bring. Those who are on the receiving end of attention and care, strengthen their faith in people and in the justness of the collective system. Each of them will, in turn, try to help others. Acts of humanism, consequently, tend to set up a sort of chain reaction.

Concern for other people cannot be determined by rules and regulations. One merely has to remember always the need to respect human dignity. This is the principal feature of humanism.

Marx, answering questions put by his daughters, once said that he saw happiness in struggle, unhappiness in subordination, and servility as the worst possible vice. Lenin said the same in so many words: "A slave who is aware of his servile condition and fights it is a revolutionary. The slave who is not aware of his servile condition and vegetates in silent, unenlightened and wordless slavery, is just a slave. The slave who drools when smugly describing the delights of servile existence and who goes into ecstasies over his good and kind master is a grovelling boor."

There have been any number of examples of noble and humane relations between people in history. But humanism has, in fact, been precluded from relations between man and official society. In the Soviet Union, the principle of "Man is to man a friend, comrade and brother" is becoming the moral principle of the entire society. Socialist humanism is patently apparent in the solicitude of the state for the good and all-round development of the individual, concern of man for the prosperity of his country, and for his comrades.

Socialist humanism requires that a person be a cavalier in

the best sense of the term: courteous, attentive and polite to others.

To love people means also to be exacting and attentive to them, to assist them out of their errors and from everything that disparages them. Is genuine friendship feasible without straightforwardness? No. In relations founded on the mutual "forgiveness of sins", falseness, hypocrisy and lack of frankness are inevitable.

Socialist humanism has nothing in common with the type of Christian love which is hypocritically proclaimed in the bourgeois moral code. Soviet people's love for humanity brings them to protest in the strongest manner against those who cruelly exploit the workers, who plunder other nations and hold the threat of war over men's heads. They further reject the teaching of non-resistance to evil, themselves being ardent fighters of all evil wherever it rears its ugly head.

In the Soviet Union, there are no social grounds for egoism, money-grubbing, idleness or any of the other ingredients of bourgeois morality. Relics of these maladies, however, live on as survivals of the past and are a considerable hindrance to communist construction.

Approximately three-quarters of the Soviet population were born in Soviet times. How, then, can any of these people who have never lived under capitalism be affected by survivals of the past?

We appreciate that, as they develop, people's consciousness somewhat lags behind their social being. For that reason, survivals of the past remain a long time after the economic conditions which engendered them have been obliterated. The birth-marks of the past, having become habits and traditions, try to get a hold on the new world, are transmitted from person to person and bedevil the new society. At the same time, old ideas and habits are encouraged by bourgeois influence abroad.

Communism and survivals of the past are irreconcilable. These birth-marks of the old world can only be rooted out by the common efforts of the whole of the community.

The necessary conditions for overcoming these relics of the past are furnished by successes in building communism; all the while we must strive to educate everyone in the communist spirit. The collective gives a hand to all who bear the burden of the past and helps them shed this burden

through friendly counsel, caution and sharp comradely criticism where needed. The most stringent measures are applied to all parasites, criminals, hooligans, and other individuals who present a danger to the community.

Mass organisations have a crucial role to play in the ideological battle against the survivals of capitalism. They have at their disposal public opinion and persuasion—powerful means of precluding amoral acts and a means for setting a misdoer back onto the straight and narrow.

Persuasion combines an elucidation of the standards of the communist moral code with exigent demands of everyone. The power of persuasion lies in the constant and systematic way in which it is conducted and in trust in people. Conviction and trust are frequently far more effective than methods of administration. And the best means of persuasion is to show a shining example in personal and social life.

COMMUNIST MORALITY AND WAY OF LIFE

PRIVATE LIFE AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS. The field of moral relations is very extensive. Besides covering work and public affairs, they embrace private life, the family and personal affairs.

Private life is the sphere in which a person lives when he is not engaged in productive or public activities, that is to say, the part of his life that he sets apart for himself. Is this the purely personal affair of everyone? No, a person's private life is inextricably bound up with public affairs. Many traits of a person's character are moulded in his private life. If his private life and welfare are well-organised, he will be in a healthy frame of mind for work. All this is reflected in no small measure in his moral development, his attitude to work and to the collective.

The tone for private life is set by the social system. Socialism has smashed the basis of the old way of life. Out have gone the drinking and gambling dens, the brothels and slums. In their place have come workers' clubs, theatres, universities, modern residential blocks, books, electricity and television.

The communist way of life does not take over automatically in step with the creation of the corresponding material conditions. Its victory very much depends on the people

themselves, their higher level of culture and their assimilation of the principles of communist morality.

It is not enough to put up fine-looking houses and housing estates. People have to learn how to live in them decently, how to live in a new way. The rules and regulations of socialist communal life should be observed voluntarily. Every café, shop, dressmaker's and repair shop must improve services to the population.

The movement towards a communist way of life is greatly gaining ground in the Soviet Union. To tighten up law and order the workers are forming public order squads who will eventually take over all the duties of the militia. Voluntary groups on the house-management committees organise their residents for keeping their buildings trim and tidy, building playgrounds and brightening up the house-yards and streets. The recently set-up public service bureaus offer help to families in the care of their children and in household affairs.

In arranging their private lives, Soviet people strive to put their constantly increasing spare time to the best possible use. A large amount is spent on reading and extending knowledge, on social work, the arts and sport. But many are no longer content with their role of viewer, reader or listener. They are learning to paint, trying their hand at writing, acting and going in for sport.

All this testifies to the fact that the new communist mode is more and more penetrating the Soviet way of life.

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE. The family, the main unit of society, being closely connected with the economic and social structure, reproduces in miniature the principal features of the prevailing system.

Socialism removes the petty proprietary instincts from the family. Considerations based on money give way to natural human emotions. Calculated marriages for an ulterior motive are regarded by socialist society as an abnormal and amoral occurrence. Socialism gives women their freedom and offers them equal rights with men.

Of the fifty million women employed in the Soviet Union, 15 million are engaged in industry, building or transport, 20 million in agriculture and 7 million in science. Three-quarters of the doctors and teachers in the country are women. Seventy-six women have been awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. About 3,000 women farmers have won the

Hero of Socialist Labour title and 24 have twice been awarded the Hammer and Sickle gold medal.

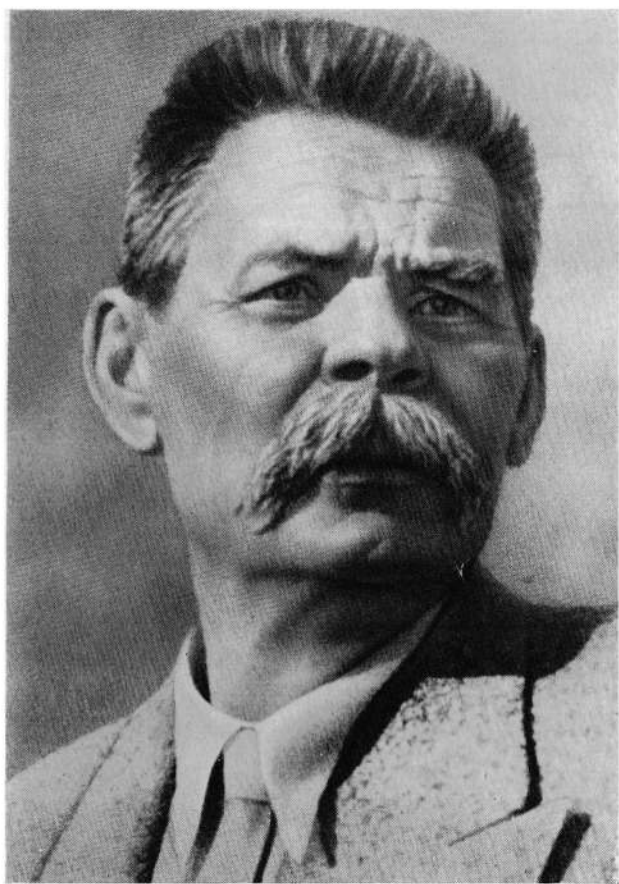
Women are taking an active part in building communism and availing themselves of the facilities for enriching their spiritual world. This has led to the disappearance of the basis for the economic and spiritual dependence of a wife on her husband, and has strengthened the moral basis of the family—love, affection, mutual respect, community of interests, views and inclinations. The Soviet citizen seeks and finds not self-interest in his family, but the satisfaction of his need for love and affection from those who are near and dear to him.

Love is an essential part of everyone's life. It is an immense joy, a great source of energy and a profound moral obligation. Lenin roundly condemned the bourgeois idea of "free love" as an excuse for sexual licentiousness. Love is a great and inspiring feeling that envelops the whole of a person.

It takes two to make a love match. What business has the community to poke its nose in? Certainly it would be wrong and improper to interfere everywhere in the intimate life of any couple, to watch over their every move. And no one demands that. Yet love is not only a "personal affair". "It takes two to love," said Lenin, "and bring a third into the world. This is where the community is involved and a duty arises to the collective." Children and the family are the logical continuation of love as it grows more profound.

Some people have the idea that under communism children will be completely under the care of the community and the family will be freed of all responsibility. True enough, the social upbringing of children is acquiring greater significance in the Soviet Union and will eventually gain the upper hand. But this does not mean that the family will have no part in this vitally important matter. Nobody can ever replace the love between parents and their children, their need for mutual affection. We all know the immense part played by mother-love in a child's life. The tremendous moral influence of parents is very important in moulding a child's mind and moral traits.

The Communist Party Programme calls for a great variety of steps to be taken to improve the lives of Soviet people. Once they are fully implemented, the Soviet family will be strengthened and cleansed of all the remnants of the old morality, and will become a nucleus of general human happiness.



MAXIM GORKY

EVERYTHING ABOUT PEOPLE MUST BE BEAUTIFUL

The full man of communist society will harmoniously combine spiritual wealth, moral purity and a perfect physique.

SPIRITUAL WEALTH. Having turned his back on the blind faith of religion and fanaticism involving thoughtless actions, the communist citizen is a man of principle and a scientific world outlook. He is convinced in the complete victory of communism because he relies on a clear comprehension of the laws of nature and society and applies them in his practical activity.

Another of his distinguishing features is his comprehensive knowledge. Of course, not every individual will know everything in all spheres of knowledge, science, technology and the arts. This is not the point. Polytechnical education will provide the new man with a good grasp of the fundamentals of science and production, will assist him to find his calling and become an outstanding specialist in his particular field.

Spiritual wealth must also include some knowledge of the arts and literature, an ability to discover and appreciate what is beautiful and to "create beauty". All this lies at the heart of *aesthetic education*.

Why is it that works of art do not excite the same feelings in everyone? Some view a painting in awe and are unable to withhold their feelings. Others pass it by without so much as a glance. Everyone arrives at an appreciation of what is beautiful in his own way. The very appreciation of beauty also requires a certain amount of work. In order to enjoy art, an individual must have some artistic training if only in the principal elements of literature and the arts, and must develop his receptivity and imagination.

Aesthetic education does more than enrich the spiritual world, it ennobles man. The deeper man penetrates into the world of beauty, the more strongly he senses its effect, the more pure and fine he himself becomes, the more natural his desire to subordinate his ideas and deeds to the noble, moral ideals of communism.

MORAL PURITY. Taking the road of transition from socialism to communism has meant vast changes in the moral consciousness of Soviet people. This has enabled the Party for

the first time to formulate scientifically the moral traits of the new man, which has gone down in the Programme as *the moral code of the builder of communism*. It comprises the following principles:

a) devotion to the communist cause; love of the socialist motherland and of the other socialist countries;

b) conscientious labour for the good of society—he who does not work, doesn't eat;

c) concern on the part of everyone for the preservation and growth of public wealth;

d) a high sense of public duty; intolerance of actions harmful to the public interest;

e) collectivism and comradely mutual assistance: one for all and all for one;

f) humane relations, mutual respect between individuals—man is to man a friend, comrade and brother;

g) honesty and truthfulness, moral purity, modesty, and unpretentiousness in social and private life;

h) mutual respect in the family, and concern for the upbringing of children;

i) an uncompromising attitude to injustice, parasitism, dishonesty, careerism and money-grubbing;

j) friendship and brotherhood among all peoples of the U.S.S.R.; intolerance of national and racial hatred;

k) an uncompromising attitude to the enemies of communism, peace and the freedom of nations;

l) fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries, and with all peoples.

These moral principles are not merely an expression of the requirements of revolutionary proletarian morality, but also universal moral standards elaborated by the common people over thousands of years in their fight against social oppression and moral decay.

One can appreciate why this moral code has become a sort of moral compass for the Soviet people. It gives a precise answer to the query: what kind of person should I be? Its force comes from the fact that its prescribed moral standards are no wishful thinking for the future, but the requirement for every builder of communism today. They, in fact, live in those people we call the heroes of our time. The moral code helps the collective and the individual decide whether a particular act is just or not, and whether a certain

line of behaviour is proper. The Soviet citizen does not simply take in the communist ideals and moral principles, appreciating the country's tasks and strivings, but also actively shapes society's spiritual life, fights for its ideals and principles, develops and affirms the lofty spiritual qualities in himself and in his comrades.

To live in a communist way is to be responsible for everything going on around us.

"I know the time will come," wrote Maxim Gorky in *Mother*, "when people will wonder at their own beauty, when each will be like a star to all the others.... Then people will live in truth and freedom for the sake of beauty, and the best people will be accounted those whose hearts are most capable of embracing the world and of loving it, those who are most free, for in them lies the greatest beauty."

A PERFECT PHYSIQUE. Mental and moral perfection is inextricably bound up with harmonious physical development. Lenin spoke of the need to combine study and research with various types of sport, to supplement one's variety of spiritual interests with an interest in gymnastics, swimming, walking and other physical exercises.

Man's outward appearance should correspond to his spiritual world and his noble actions. This does not mean that everybody will be beautiful fairy-tale heroes under communism. But everyone will be physically and mentally healthy and strong. However spiritually rich and moral man's life is, he will not enjoy much contentment without genuine physical development.

Manual work, physical exercise and sport are all useful means of keeping fit and bolstering health.

If a person pays scant heed to physical exercises, a sensible regime and moderate eating in his earlier years, he is bound to age prematurely. By the time he is 40 he will be paunchy, complain of being short-winded, tired and will suffer from headaches. People who go in for sport regularly and keep to a steady regime, are more likely to live to a ripe old age. They will always stand out for their zeal at work, energy, *joie de vivre* and self-assurance.

A physically fit person will pick up a trade more deftly and with greater skill. His productivity and quality of work will be higher than those of someone less fit who turns his back on sport.

No matter what operations a person has to make in an automated workshop, they will always involve some form of physical movement. However far automation goes, the operators of the machines will have to have high physical and working qualities, and first and foremost, a ready receptibility to information, indefatigability, an ability to carry out functions correctly, quickly, with a cool head and with the minimum of fuss. They must also be able to keep their wits about them when signals become monotonous. They must always be ready to step in at the shortest notice. All this implies more than just knowledge. Certainly, physical education and sport are going to become an equally important component in a modern worker's life.

Cybernetics experts calculate that manual labour has never presented such comprehensive and complicated demands on a person's physical development as modern industry, involving control over highly automated machinery.

Sport does more than aid a person to acquire many needed qualities like boldness, endurance, resolve, self-control and quick wits. Sport helps develop aesthetic tastes and imparts a graceful deportment, suppleness, dexterity and accuracy in movement. On mass ski and walking trips, a sense of comradeship becomes more meaningful and one appreciates the value of the collective. After a good relaxation in the fresh air, a person lives and works better. Sport, in a sensible combination with other activities, is an important source of both physical and spiritual development.

* * *

Over the ages, communism has been the illusive dream of the downtrodden and deprived. Now it is becoming a reality. A new man is being born, is growing into manhood. He is the builder of communism and will well deserve the honour of being the first citizen to live in the beautiful community of the future.

**For Peace
and a Better Future**

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

The Soviet Union is a vast country with one-sixth of the world's dry land and one-fourteenth of its population, but one country is not a world system. For almost thirty years, the world's bourgeoisie harboured the illusion that socialism would be contained within the Soviet Union. They used up mountains of paper and oceans of ink endeavouring to prove that Leninism was a national phenomenon, peculiar to Russia alone and unsuitable for other nations.

Socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries at the end of the last war shattered this illusion. As events of the century they rank second in importance only to the October Revolution. Breaking the bounds of a single country, socialism became a *world system* which is all the time growing stronger. The experience of this development clearly demonstrates that Lenin's theory is international, applicable to every country, and points the correct way to building socialism all over the world.

PATHS OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

FORMS DIFFER. Since under capitalism countries develop unevenly, they come to the socialist revolution at completely different levels: some are more developed, others have a backward economy; some have been independent, others in imperialist bondage; some have a predominantly peasant population, others a strong working class; the strength of the bourgeoisie also varies greatly. The international situation is another variable that must be taken into consideration.

If, therefore, the initial conditions for building socialism differ, the forms, methods and rates of growth will have to differ, too. The victorious working class and its communist vanguard have a difficult task on their hands: to apply general Marxist-Leninist principles to the concrete conditions

prevailing in their particular countries, to find the forms and methods of putting the society on socialist lines which would enable them to achieve their set goals more successfully. Revolutionaries have at hand the rich experience of socialist construction in the fraternal countries, but they cannot slavishly copy it. What suits one country does not always bring the desired results in another. It is therefore important that experience accumulated in other countries should be used in a creative way, taking into account the specific features of each country and its international position.

Long before socialism exceeded the bounds of a single country, Lenin said that history will inevitably engender an abundance of forms of transition to socialism. This was particularly confirmed by experience of the postwar world when socialism turned into a world system and the socialist revolution was victorious in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Yugoslavia and North Korea. In 1949, China took the socialist road; the German Democratic Republic was proclaimed; socialist Vietnam was born in anti-colonialist war, and not so long ago, revolutionary Cuba joined the socialist family. These states differ greatly: highly industrialised, agrarian, former semi-colonies and full colonies. Hence the diversity of forms and methods in building socialism.

One of the most important elements determining the form of transition to socialism in the majority of these countries is that the revolution in them was victorious on the crest of a powerful anti-fascist movement which united in a single *national democratic front* the widest sections of the population (peasants, small urban bourgeoisie, intellectuals, some patriotic middle bourgeoisie) under the leadership of the working class and its militant communist vanguard.

This enabled the workers in some countries to take power peacefully—without an armed uprising or civil war. Thus, in Czechoslovakia, in October 1948, a great demonstration of Prague workers forced reaction to back down, and a government headed by Communists was formed.

During the socialist changes that followed there was naturally a fierce struggle against counter-revolutionaries who attempted to break the popular alliance. But this struggle never reached the extremes of civil war because the Soviet Union stood in the way of an imperialist attack on the young

socialist state, and the local big bourgeoisie were not strong enough to turn the tables without outside support.

Thus, the forms and dates of fulfilment of socialist changes must also be diverse. The overthrown exploiter classes had their political rights only partially restricted, and in some new socialist states were not restricted at all. The bourgeois state apparatus was not broken at once; old specialists were used as much as possible, thus obviating a break-down in the economy. In some socialist states, the Communist-headed governments include other parties representing part of the peasants, the intellectuals and other sections of the population. Although large-scale private landholdings were abolished, small private landownership was left intact at first—the land only became socialised over a comparatively long period of time when the peasant-farmers voluntarily joined co-operatives. In some countries, the people's government partially compensated the bourgeoisie for the means of production it expropriated. This had long ago been foreseen by Marx who had said that in certain circumstances it is more profitable for the proletariat "to buy out the bourgeoisie".

Some former colonies and semi-colonies had their own path to socialism. In some, the revolution was victorious in the course of a war of the people, led by their Communist Party, against the imperialists and big local landowners and bankers who had thrown in their lot with the imperialists (the compradore bourgeoisie). The Chinese victory was made easier by the fact that the Soviet Union had routed the Japanese Kwantung army. Socialist revolutions in Korea and Vietnam, and later in Cuba, were also born from a popular struggle for independence.

From the fact that paths of socialist development in a particular country or group of countries may differ greatly, one must not conclude that every country creates its own "national type" of socialism. By its very nature socialism cannot be specifically Russian, Chinese, German or Polish. The basic features of socialist society express the objective requirements of social development and are bound to be the same for all nations and peoples.

Since the purpose of socialist changes is the same for all countries, despite the whole diversity of forms and methods, there must inevitably be *general laws of transition from capitalism to socialism*.

UNIVERSAL LAWS. The workers may pay compensation for the means of production, or they may not; they may expropriate the bourgeoisie at once or gradually. In all cases, however, the means of production must become public property—if not, socialism is out of the question. This is not a matter of choice but a law of social development.

The dictatorship of the proletariat may take the form of a one-party or multi-party system; in the latter case, an alliance of parties headed by Marxists-Leninists is in power. But in all cases the political system of socialism must ensure the involvement of the widest sections of the people in running the state, it must promote their free initiative and creative endeavour, in other words, socialist democracy. This, once again, is not a matter of choice, but a law of social development; any departure from it inevitably leads to distortion of the very ideals of socialism and complicates construction of the new society.

It is therefore essential to know the general laws of transition from capitalism to socialism so as to build national policy on a consistently scientific basis. Marxist-Leninist theory is what makes this possible; it has been tested and enriched by the practical experience of development in the socialist countries.

Socialism cannot be attained without the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party, without the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another, without an alliance between the working class and the bulk of peasants and other groups of working people. In the economic sphere, establishment of public ownership of the means of production must be accompanied by the gradual socialist transformation of agriculture, the planned development of the whole economy aimed at building socialism and communism, and raising the workers' living standards. The socialist revolution must also come to the ideological and cultural sphere. A vast body of intellectuals must be created, loyal to the working people and socialism. National oppression must be replaced by relations of equality and fraternal friendship among nations. Finally, the socialist gains must be defended from the assaults of enemies at home and abroad. Solidarity of the workers of the given country with those of other countries

must be strengthened in accord with the principles of proletarian internationalism.

These are the principal laws compulsory for all countries embarking on the road to socialism. They were formulated in the Declaration of the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, issued in Moscow, 1957.

By following the general laws of transition to socialism and applying the most diverse economic and political forms corresponding to their concrete conditions, the nations that took the socialist course after the war have accomplished a radical transformation of their social system. In all the countries that today make up the socialist community, the dominant ownership is public ownership of the means of production; the majority of them have collectivised their agriculture. As the Communist and Workers' Parties noted in their resolutions, some states have already laid the foundation of socialism, others are completing the construction of socialist society.

NEW TYPE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. When socialism exceeded the bounds of a single country and became a world system, the Communist Parties were faced with the problem of defining relations between sovereign socialist states.

The requisites for resolving the problem are clear enough. One of the major aims of socialism and communism is to put an end once and for all to national enmity and distrust, and to affirm everlasting peace on earth and the brotherhood of free nations.

It is not only a matter of this corresponding to communist ideals of justice and good. The fraternal alliance between nations advancing along the socialist path is an objective need for the nations concerned and a law of social development. Besides theory, this is also confirmed by practice, politics: since from the moment of birth they are threatened by imperialist aggression, the people of the socialist states can only uphold the cause of the revolution and ensure themselves the possibility of building socialism by uniting forces. This unity is to defeat economic blockades and the shackling trade terms that dominate the capitalist market, and the socialist states can only gain a reliable support and assistance for their quickly developing economies through the promotion of economic links with the other fraternal socialist countries.

The unity of the socialist countries is a need that stems from the oneness of their socio-economic system, their Marxist-Leninist ideology and their direct political interests. This is not simply an alliance of states, it is the establishment and development of a principally new type of international relations.

To have a clearer appreciation of the new element that socialism brings to relations between sovereign national states, we need only cast a glance at the history of international relations. Hardly had the first states appeared than a relentless tussle commenced between them. The ruling classes strove, at all costs, to extend the territory under their control and enslave other peoples. Wars followed one after another bringing untold suffering. Short-lived respites were used merely as a chance to recuperate forces for new military campaigns.

Deceit, perfidy and violence all were justified as long as they served the purpose of outwitting one's neighbours, subordinating other nations and forming empires.

Plunder and carnage reached their summit in the imperialist era. Economic and military might became the decisive argument in relations between imperialist states and even more so between them and weaker nations. At different stages of American policy-making, American politicians have described U.S. foreign policy as "the big stick", "dollar diplomacy", "nuclear blackmail", "position of strength", etc.

Since the last war the imperialist states have formed aggressive military blocs directed against the socialist states and the revolutionary movement. But even allied relations cannot remove the sharp contradictions between them, cannot tone down the struggle for markets and capital investment spheres.

By general admission, the Soviet Union has played a great role in establishing and promoting the new type of international relations. The victory of the socialist revolution in some countries after the last war was considerably helped by the fact that the Soviet Union had pinned down the forces of imperialist reaction, had prevented intervention, had foiled plans to stifle the young socialist states by blockade, and helped them to create their own industry.

In the early postwar years, economic agreements and treaties of alliance and mutual assistance in the event of aggression were signed between the Soviet Union and other

socialist states. When the imperialist powers signed the Paris 1954 agreements which paved the way for West German rearmament and the inclusion of West Germany in NATO, the socialist states had to set up an alliance for defence (May 1955). *The Warsaw Pact*, as this alliance is known, arranged for a joint command over the socialist Armed Forces. The joint defensive measures of the socialist states and, above all, the nuclear missile might of the U.S.S.R. is a reliable shield around socialism and holds back the militant imperialist circles.

The advantages of the new type of international relations affirmed by socialism are particularly apparent in economic co-operation.

THE WORLD SOCIALIST ECONOMIC SYSTEM

MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. The people of every socialist country have an interest in industrial, agricultural and welfare improvements in all the other socialist countries. Every success is a success shared and a contribution to the cause of communism.

Achievements of the socialist countries primarily depend on their mutual economic assistance in all manner of forms: mutually advantageous trade, credit, help in building industrial undertakings, exchange of scientific and technical knowledge.

Naturally, this assistance is mainly offered by the more economically advanced countries. And that is where the industrial, scientific and technical might of the Soviet Union is especially important. Very many industrial undertakings have been constructed in the other socialist countries with Soviet assistance. The Soviet Union has granted loans, helped train experts, transferred thousands of designs, blueprints and other technical documents in order to expedite production in various spheres.

The more advanced socialist countries seek no special gain from this assistance. They are not philanthropists either. There is no division into "benefactors" and "dependents" in the socialist community. The people of every country primarily rely on their domestic resources for building the new society. But once they have achieved certain successes, they

do not keep them to themselves; they strive to share their experience and attainments with their brother countries. In this way, the socialist community helps mould manifold relations of comradely mutual assistance.

Czechoslovakia gives a hand to her brother countries in the promotion of the machine-tool industry. The German Democratic Republic shares its experience in manufacturing first-class optical instruments. Poland helps out with her high-class mining machinery, and so on. The socialist countries exchange products, including consumer goods. Soviet shops display Czech shoes, Polish furniture, Chinese woollens and Hungarian silks. And there is always a good demand for Soviet watches, cameras and other goods in the People's Democracies.

The socialist countries are taking every advantage of their economic co-operation. A socialist country which has at its disposal large supplies of coal or oil, or has accumulated experience in the production of lathes, develops these branches of industry to satisfy its needs and to export machinery to its brother countries. In turn, the recipients provide it with their own products. This brings with it boundless advantages: it is no longer necessary for each country to build enterprises to supply all its own needs. Those industrial and agricultural branches can be promoted for which each country has the best natural resources and has accumulated the most experience.

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOUR.

Over the years there has grown a territorial division of labour across the world: some countries specialise in certain types of goods, put them on the world market and purchase what they need. It is generally agreed that the international division of labour is progressive, since it leads to higher labour productivity.

Under capitalism, however, this division of labour assumes abnormal forms. The bourgeoisie turn it to their own profit as a means of exploiting less developed countries.

Under socialism, things are different. The international division of labour is purged of all its ugly features engendered by capitalism. It is developed in depth and in breadth. Socialism eliminates the exploitation of one country by another, introduces equal rights for states, removes the antagonistic contradictions between them and creates conditions

for the harmonious economic development of all countries within the world socialist system. This brings us to the conclusion that *a new type of international division of labour* serving to boost the economic growth of all socialist countries is shaped in the world socialist system.

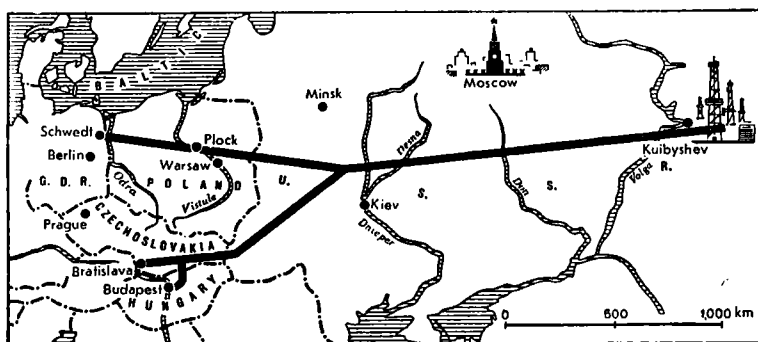
It was only recently that the socialist international division of labour was formed and it still has not developed to the full. After all, the socialist community has not been in existence for a score of years yet. It needs time to get specialisation and co-operation running smoothly. Much has already been achieved but the future prospects are breathtaking.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) was established for the purpose of resolving the involved questions of economic co-operation between socialist countries.

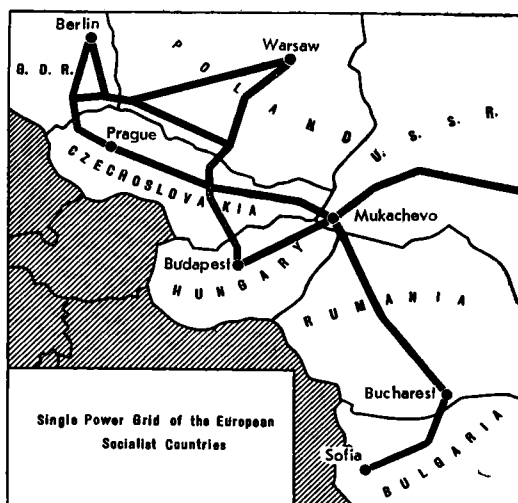
COMECON is concerned with co-ordinating short and long term economic plans of member states. This enables each country and the socialist community as a whole to develop more rapidly.

Big economic projects are being undertaken by joint effort. The 3,000 mile-long oil pipeline Druzhba was finished in 1963. The pipeline runs from the Volga region through the Ukraine to Czechoslovakia, Poland, the G.D.R. and Hungary. It is much longer than any other of the world's pipelines, including the Biggest Inch in America and the trans-Arabian, which together come to less than 2,500 miles.

The economic benefits accruing can be estimated from the following: without the pipeline, it would have taken 600,000



Druzhba Oil Pipeline



oil tank-cars of 25 tons each to deliver Soviet oil to the European People's Democracies in 1964.

A single power grid Mir has been built to operate in European socialist countries. The day is coming when, as Lenin prophesied, "there will be a single world economy, regulated by the workers of all nations as one whole and according to a common plan".

The promotion of the world economic socialist system does not mean in the slightest that these nations are cutting themselves off from the rest of the world. Quite the contrary. They are striving for mutually beneficial economic co-operation with all countries. This co-operation, as long as it is on an equal basis, is to everyone's benefit, economically and politically, since it helps to lessen international tension and to consolidate friendly relations and peace among nations.

Thanks to their close economic co-operation, and their fraternal mutual assistance, every country taking the socialist road is quickly able to eliminate its backwardness and catch up with its brothers. In other words, there is a gradual leveling up in the socialist countries' development and they will enter the higher stage of communism more or less simultaneously. Every country building socialism, especially the most

backward, will accomplish the leap forward from backwardness to progress in a reasonably short time. The transition to communism will therefore not take a century or more, but will be completed *within a single historical epoch*.

COMMUNITY OF SOCIALIST STATES

PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIALIST STATES. Socialist countries not only provide each other with diverse economic assistance. They are able to co-ordinate their foreign policy, to put up a united front and thus increase the influence of the socialist community on the course of world events.

Thus, the economic and political interests of peoples taking the socialist path insistently demand that their unity be consolidated and that they act as a united political and economic community, not as a conglomeration of socially like states.

It would be naïve to imagine that the unity and consolidation of the socialist countries come about of their own accord. After all, inter-socialist state relations have to be founded on soil which has been sullied over the ages with national enmity, distrust and nationalist prejudice. There may be outstanding issues left over from capitalism, such as mutual territorial claims. In certain circumstances concrete national interests may not coincide. And although these difficulties are temporary and outweighed by the tremendous advantages of the fraternal community of socialist states, they may nonetheless badly impair their relations.

That is why it is so vastly important that the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist states have a correct Marxist-Leninist policy, be able to combine the national interests of their own countries with the common interests of the whole socialist community, and together overcome all difficulties that arise.

People do not think according to a set pattern and, even if they do hold the same views, their approach to different questions concerning socialist construction and inter-state relations may have different shades, and does not always coincide. Singleness of conviction and community of aims, however, enable the fraternal parties to work out a common

attitude and make a joint evaluation of events. These parties regularly hold consultations, exchange delegations and jointly discuss questions of mutual interest. From time to time they arrange conferences at which they draw up policy documents, such as the Declaration of the Moscow Conference in 1957 and the Statement in 1960. Besides other questions they formulate the principles of relations between the socialist countries. These are, above all, equal rights, respect for one another's independence and non-interference in one another's internal affairs. Observance of these principles creates the ground for normal, friendly relations between sovereign socialist states. But relations between the socialist states do not end with these principles which have received the name of principles of peaceful coexistence and are encountering ever wider recognition internationally. It is the principle of *socialist internationalism* which serves as the basis of relations between socialist states. This concept embraces that vast and multisided mutual assistance of which we spoke earlier; fidelity to internationalism constitutes a guarantee of successful development and consolidation of the might of the world socialist community.

Internationalism presupposes resolute struggle against every manifestation of nationalist ideology, it being alien to the working class.

A petty-bourgeois environment is a breeding ground for nationalism.

The workers are joined in the movement for socialism by the peasants and most of the urban petty bourgeoisie. Their living conditions under capitalism engender a two-pronged, contradictory attitude to life, their mentality also being dual. The egoism of the small owner, escalated on to a national scale, takes the form of national egoism—a striving, on the one hand, to shut oneself off from the outside world and, on the other, to put one's nation above others, impose on others one's own pattern of thought and action, and claim some special priority. This is inevitably connected with a cult of "strong personality" and glorification of an "infallible" leader who will lead the nation to glory and power.

One of the proletariat's most important tasks is to get the petty bourgeoisie to acquire the proletarian, Marxist-Leninist ideology, to encourage an internationalist outlook in them and lead them onto the communist path. Lenin frequently

stressed the importance of this task, particularly for a country with a predominantly peasant population. The danger of petty-bourgeois nationalist views is especially great when they appear in the ranks of parties which have accomplished the socialist revolution and attained power. Their harmful consequences not only distort the ideals and requirements of scientific socialism within the country, they also violate the principle of socialist internationalism in a socialist state's policy. The Marxist-Leninist Parties are fighting to consolidate the unity of all socialist countries and all Communist Parties on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis. There is no doubt that having overcome all the difficulties and zigzags of history, the socialist community will unswervingly strengthen and develop.

DECISIVE FORCE OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT. Right from its international appearance, socialism began to exert a tremendous influence on world developments. The very first decree of the Soviet Government—the Decree on Peace—showed the world that a state had appeared intending to bend all efforts to introduce into international affairs the principles of equality and non-interference. The Soviet Government scrapped the unequal treaties that had been imposed by tsarist Russia on several neighbouring states—Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and China. The Soviet representatives at international conferences and, later, in the League of Nations consistently fought for the removal of all discrimination in international trade, exposed the imperialist colonial policy, and warned the whole world that the militarists were preparing for another world war. The workers' revolutionary movement and the oppressed people's national liberation struggle found in the Soviet Union a reliable support. All progressive mankind regarded the Soviet Union as a beacon of progress.

Being a relatively backward country in the initial period of its economic construction, the U.S.S.R. could not exert a decisive influence on the international situation, although imperialism was not able to continue its undivided rule.

Today the situation has altered radically. The Soviet Union has moved into second place in the world as an industrial power and has a mighty economic and military potential. Socialism has become a world system embracing just under a third of the world's population. The socialist countries are

exerting a mounting influence on the whole of social development by their work for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. The time is past when the destiny of mankind wholly depended on imperialism and was planned in the offices of the monopolies or the military headquarters of the imperialist states. The present balance of forces in the world is all the while changing in favour of socialism whose might is being measured not only by its economic and military potential but by its political influence, the victorious spread of socialist ideas.

The time is not too far distant when the world socialist community will have the edge on imperialism in the economic sphere too. By practising the new type of international relations, showing all nations the real path to rapid progress and insistentlly defending the cause of peace, it is becoming the centre of attraction for all workers the world over and the decisive force of world development.

COMPETITION BETWEEN THE TWO WORLDS

Travelling along the road of history we pass the road-sign announcing the Twentieth Century and come to another marked 1917. Here the road forks: one way leading to communism and the other continuing the capitalist road. The years flash by, much sweat and blood are shed, and now a thousand million people, one-third of all humanity, are confidently moving towards communism, all the while broadening their way and picking up speed. But the capitalist path is narrowing, more obstacles crop up, more and more often it is necessary to mark time; the signs pointing to blind alleys are becoming more frequent.

This picture helps us to an understanding of the amazing times in which we live, the transition from the old social system to the new. Until this transition is complete, both systems will exist simultaneously, or *coexist*, as we usually say. Millions of workers in capitalist countries and people who have broken the chains of imperialist bondage are now able to judge for themselves which system is better from the vivid example before them. And they have before them the most simple and reliable means of doing so: comparison. People in all four corners of the earth are doing just that: calculating, comparing and making their conclusion. Everything can be taken into account: steel output and hydroelectric power, speed of planes and weight of artificial satellites, size of taxes and rents, number of engineers and number of illiterates, sports records and ballet skill. All this, as a whole, indicates which social system better enables society to develop the forces of production and open up greater opportunities for improving standards of living.

In other words, the two systems do not simply exist, they *compete*. The competition between the two systems is becoming a pivot for the whole of world development.

SOCIALISM IS WINNING

ECONOMIC CONTEST. With the appearance of the first socialist state, people were faced with the questions of how competition was to be conducted and what means would be applied in its course.

Lenin and the Communist Party put the issue as follows:

a) The will of history has been obeyed. Whether the capitalists like it or not, there now exist two, diametrically opposed, social systems on earth. Since we all live on a single planet, we shall have to coexist peacefully, to meet everyone's vital interests.

b) Peaceful coexistence does not imply that the Soviet working class will reconcile itself with the pitiless system of capitalist tyranny or be indifferent to the hardships of brothers in the capitalist countries and the sufferings of the people in the colonies. True to their internationalist duty, the Soviet people will offer them moral support, will facilitate the success of their struggle against the yoke of capital and secure victory in the competition with capitalism. But this competition must be conducted by peaceful means.

c) Expansionist designs are alien to socialism, which does not extend its influence through war. The impact made by the Soviet Union and the other socialist states on world development stems chiefly from their achievements in economic construction and in raising the people's living and cultural standards. By their labours, the people of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries prove that socialism is immeasurably more just than capitalism and is much more efficient at boosting production, science and technology, and ensuring society's prosperity. Along the lines of peaceful economic competition the U.S.S.R. is catching up and will overtake all the developed capitalist countries, including the richest of all, the U.S.A. Once they are convinced of the advantages of socialism in practice, the working people in the capitalist countries step up their fight for their liberation.

The imperialists, however, have not accepted the challenge of peaceful competition. From the very beginning, they endeavoured to turn the tussle between the two systems into bloody conflicts. And today, when socialism has grown into a powerful world system, the imperialist circles have not relinquished their hopes of destroying the socialist world by

force of arms. Why are they so terrified of peaceful competition? Very simple. Because they are on the losing side. Because history has irrefutably demonstrated that socialism is growing and gaining in strength, while capitalism is on its last legs.

For proof of this, we only have to turn to a few facts and figures.

In 1919 the socialist world occupied 21,700,000 sq km, or 16 per cent of the earth, and embraced 138 million people, or 7.8 per cent of the world's population.

In 1964 the socialist world occupied 35,200,000 sq km, or 26 per cent of the earth, and embraced 1,134 million people, or 35 per cent of the world's population.

Economic, and primarily industrial, development takes pride of place in the competition between the two systems.

The socialist share in world industrial production comprised:

27 per cent in 1955

some 38 per cent in 1963

In per capita production of the main items, the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries still lag behind the most economically advanced capitalist states. This gap will be removed in the next few years. What makes us so sure? Development rates.

In the last ten years (1954-63) Soviet industrial output per head of population has expanded 128 per cent, while the American has only grown 15 per cent.

By 1980, the socialist countries will account for approximately two-thirds of world industrial production.

Agreed that one or another capitalist country may accelerate its economic development for a time. As soon as the favourable situation comes to an end, however, decline is bound to set in. When Soviet economists worked out their estimates that socialism would outstrip the advanced capitalist countries, they relied on facts tested by history: not for a couple of years, but for all of 45 years during which time the socialist economy has developed much faster than the capitalist economy. Moreover, no allowance was made for the possible consequences of crises which are bound to set the capitalist countries back.

Thus, in the coming years, socialism will outstrip capitalism in development of the forces of production. And living

standards, a particularly important indicator of competition, directly depend on this development.

BETTER LIFE UNDER SOCIALISM. The Soviet people have created a high-powered industry and a developed agriculture enabling them to increasingly satisfy everyone's requirements.

People living under socialism know that the better they work, the richer and more beautiful their lives become. Not so under capitalism, where an overwhelming part of the wealth is appropriated by a handful of exploiters, where material values are distributed according to capital rather than work.

In the wealthiest capitalist countries the average income per head of population is still higher than in the socialist world. But this average income hides a great deal of injustice under capitalism: a tiny band of monopolists receives the lion's share, while millions of workers are left with the sparrow's share.

The highly paid proportion of workers enjoys comfortable living conditions. But they must not be taken as typical of all workers. We must not lose sight of the millions of fully or partially unemployed. We must not forget the unskilled and the farm labourers who often find it difficult to make ends meet. In the U.S., there are millions of Negroes, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans who draw less wages for the same job than the Whites. The powers-that-be in America eagerly point out to the foreign visitor the well-appointed houses belonging to Ford workers, but they fight shy of Harlem, the Negro quarter of New York where many residents live in appalling conditions of poverty, where, according to one American columnist rats are a menace to the people in the slums.

Finally, just as we cannot define the position of all working people by the example of a privileged few, so we cannot judge the standard of living of the whole capitalist world by the example of one capitalist country, or even a group of countries. At the base of North America lies the Latin American continent, whose workers live in poverty. In the long-suffering colonies and ex-colonies of Asia and Africa, even average earnings per head of population are dozens of times lower than they are in the U.S.A. or Western Europe. Average life expectancy in some of these economically backward countries does not exceed 30 years and, in some places,

African colonies for example, it is even as low as 23 years.

If we hold up the entire capitalist world for comparison, we can see the socialist system has created infinitely better conditions for the people. How many capitalist countries, including the richest, provide the workers with such benefits as the right to work, to rest and leisure, to completely free education and medical service?

Socialism opens up unlimited possibilities for improving the people's well-being. In measuring the competition with capitalism, we take into account the living conditions in the most advanced and wealthy capitalist countries. But we exclude the living conditions of the bourgeoisie, in particular the monopolists, who may own several houses, cars, swimming pools, yachts and even planes. This is not the well-being required by the normal person, but unnecessary luxuries. The time is coming when the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will have the highest standard of living in the world. This will show the advantages of socialism in very vivid terms.

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

THE DOWNFALL OF COLONIALISM. Colonialism is a real stigma on the conscience of mankind, a crime which may be completely laid at the door of capitalism. A handful of imperialist powers enslaved the vast majority of the people of the world.

The October Revolution roused the people of the East, inspired them with strength for the fight against their oppressors. On the defeat of nazi Germany and imperial Japan this struggle intensified to a great extent. First the colonial system trembled under the victorious blows of the Chinese people, then reeled from the triumphs of Koreans and Vietnamese, all of whom sent their slave-drivers packing and set about building socialism. India, Indonesia, Burma and several other countries won their independence. One after the other, the colonies gained their political sovereignty. Nineteen-sixty was a particularly "fertile" year in this respect and will go down in history as "Africa year", for 17 ex-colonies embracing over 80 million people gained political independence.

Let us see how much the map of the world has altered over the last 45 years since the Russian Revolution paved the way for freedom.

Colonies and Semi-Colonies

in 1919 occupied 85.2 sq km, or 65.6 per cent of the earth, and accounted for 1,204 million people, or 67.7 per cent of the world's population.

in 1964 occupied 4.9 million sq km, or 3.6 per cent of the earth, and accounted for 45.8 million people, or 1.4 per cent of the world's population.

What are the motive forces behind the national liberation movement?

The struggle of the oppressed against imperialism has become really effective with the growth of the *proletariat* in the colonies. It bears the brunt of the revolutionary struggle against the imperialists. The proletariat helps to rouse the political consciousness of the *peasants*, deprived of land and obliged to work for feudal masters. Imperialism and feudalism are twins. The workers explain this to the peasants and show them that they cannot do away with their feudal bondage while languishing under imperialist oppression. The liberation struggle, therefore, combines the tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution: the first demand is for independence, and the second for agrarian reform.

The young *national bourgeoisie* also have a part to play in the liberation movement. Foreign domination greatly restricts their chances of development and accumulating capital. Conditions exist for the anti-imperialist forces to unite in a national front. The backbone of this front is the alliance between the workers and peasants.

An important part in the successful struggle of peoples for their independence is played by the assistance and support they get from the world socialist community.

The time is past when the imperialists could go unpunished in dealing arbitrarily with freedom-loving peoples; there now exists a mighty power capable of stopping the tyrants.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES. The downfall of the colonial system does not yet imply the total destruction of colonialism. The imperialists do not easily acquiesce to the loss of their colonies and resort to any means to climb back on to their chariot of tyranny and plunder of the ex-colonies.

What means do they now use? First and foremost the imperialist powers attempt to get their own puppets in power in the newly-emergent states, people who will obediently carry out the bidding of the colonialists. Where they succeed, the proclaimed independence does not bring any essential changes to the people's lot.

Since the last war the imperialists managed to inveigle some ex-colonies into military blocs* in order to preserve their dominance there. Under the guise of a "communist shield", the U.S.A. has constructed military bases on their territories, stationed its troops and planted "advisers", and dictated their policies.

If the imperialists fail to preserve their political domination in the former colonies, they continue to hold their economic positions and rake in huge profits at the expense of the people they exploit. The annual profit flowing into the coffers of the West European monopolists from exploitation of the economically underdeveloped countries amounts to over 8,000 million pounds. With this money, two score metal works could be built on the scale of the Bhilai project in India.

That is why the fight against colonialism is not yet over. Only when they have established their own industry, trained their own specialists and rooted out the capitalist monopolies, can the young states free themselves from economic bondage and put an end to the plundering of their national wealth.

In the fight for their independence the ex-colonies can always count on the backing of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. The Soviet Union has helped build the giant Bhilai Iron and Steel Works in India and the first section of the Aswan Dam in the United Arab Republic. With Soviet assistance, dozens of industrial undertakings, highways, hospitals and institutes have been built in Indonesia,

* The No. 1 military bloc is the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) of 15 states, followed by the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), called "Asian" but only including three Asian countries: Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines, and the Middle Eastern bloc (now CENTO) originally known as the Baghdad Pact because it was signed in Iraq's capital. The imperialists reckoned on involving all the Arab states in the Pact, but in vain. In the words of one commentator, the Baghdad Pact is like an attempt "to fry an omelette without any eggs". Soon Iraq too opted out of the Pact and it was forced to change its name.

Burma, Afghanistan, in the young states of Africa and in many other countries. In Moscow's Friendship University named after Patrice Lumumba, boys and girls from all over the world—Indians, Guineans, Arabs, Somalis—take their studies. Having received a sound training as specialists, they carry their knowledge home to their people and help put an end to the economic and cultural backwardness.

The states formed in place of the former colonies are making a great contribution to peace. India, Indonesia, the United Arab Republic and many other countries of Asia and Africa have proclaimed their support for the policy of peaceful coexistence and have turned their backs on the imperialist aggressive blocs. That is why they are called *neutralist nations*.

Their peoples still have many hardships to overcome and a number of urgent problems to resolve.

As long as the struggle for independence lasts, different classes and social groups may march together against their common enemy, the imperialists. But, once independence has been won, the class contradictions are exposed and interests diverge. The bourgeoisie aim at utilising the independence won by the people for strengthening their domination. They are liable to compromise with the imperialists and the land-owners against the people. They endeavour to consolidate a capitalist system based on the exploitation of the workers and peasants.

What has the capitalist way of development to offer the newly-independent countries? Nothing but hardship for the people and the inevitable vices of capitalism: crises, unemployment and impoverishment—all to be borne on the backs of the common people. Furthermore, if they choose this road, the newly-liberated states have great difficulty in wiping out their age-old backwardness and attaining national prosperity.

Must this be? Lenin gave a clear-cut answer to this question when he said: "Must we affirm that the capitalist stage of economic development is inevitable for all those backward states which are now liberating themselves and among whom now, after the war, we can discern a movement along the road of progress? The answer must be in the negative."

The experience of the socialist countries shows the former colonies and semi-colonies the straight and broad path to national prosperity and social progress. But to take this

path, certain conditions must be fulfilled. First in order of importance is the strengthening of the alliance of all the progressive and patriotic forces fighting to take the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution to its logical conclusion.

A state can be established on the basis of this alliance, a state which has the full backing of the vast mass of the population. This state can take to a victorious conclusion the struggle for national liberation and for democratic changes. It opens up wonderful prospects for social progress. We call this state *a state of national democracy*.

In the last few years ruling parties and politicians in several newly-independent countries have proclaimed socialism their aim (Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Burma, Ghana, Mali, etc.). In these countries social changes are being implemented with varying degrees of intensity—means of production belonging to imperialist monopolies have been nationalised for the most part, a state economic sector has been formed, agrarian reforms have been carried through, the peasants are being encouraged to join co-operatives, etc. The programmes for social development according to which these changes are being made are not always consistent, and in many cases contain a mixture of correct scientific socialist ideas and utopian, sometimes even religious, views.

While asserting that they are going their own way and creating a socialist society in conformity with the historical traditions of their own people, the leaders of these states emphasise that they follow the example of the socialist states and are utilising the rich experience of the world socialist community.

This forcefully demonstrates the invincibility of the movement towards socialism. The socialist states do not force their experience on the young states; they offer them all possible assistance and do not interfere in their affairs. It is the facts of life that indicate to the newly-emergent peoples which theory offers the most reliable path to socialism, attracts them more and more to the only scientific theory—the communist teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Colonialism's downfall is the greatest historic event after the formation of the world socialist system. Among other factors it plays an important role in sharply aggravating the general crisis of capitalism.

NEW STAGE IN THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

GENERAL CRISIS GROWS. Many bourgeois theorists, in particular Right-wing Socialists, distort Marxism by attempting to prove that capitalism has "changed its spots", has extricated itself from its old failings and is nowadays steadily being "transformed into socialism".

They base their arguments on the fact that some workers own shares in capitalist companies. Therefore, they conclude, capitalism is changing into "people's capitalism".

In actual fact, the accumulation of capital through shares means the utilisation of the meagre savings of the workers for the purpose of enriching the capitalists. With a few shares from one company, an ordinary workingman can, at best, count on a small return. His influence is nil, all questions being decided by the big shareholders, and particularly by those who possess the controlling interest. In theory, this shareholding should comprise some fifty-one per cent of the shares. But in practice, because of the dispersal of shares among the small shareholders and the absolute impracticability of co-ordinating their actions, it is enough to own 20-30 (or even 10) per cent of all the shares in order to control the joint-stock company's affairs. In this way, the capitalist conditionally multiplies his capital tenfold.

When crises overtake the capitalist economy, Stock Exchange prices fall and the capitalist buys up the worthless shares of the small shareholders and avoids paying them any dividends at all. Frequently, the capitalists themselves create a panic on the Stock Exchange so that share prices will fall and they can rob the small shareholders.

Capitalism really has changed, but changed for the worse. The defects it had in its youth have increased immensely in its old age. Today, capitalism has entered a new, third stage of its general crisis.

This significant conclusion was made by the world's Communist and Workers' Parties after a thorough-going Marxist-Leninist analysis of contemporary world development. Where does its significance lie?

The first and second stages of capitalism's general crisis arose in connection with the two world wars.

The peculiarity of the third stage is that it began in a

situation short of a world war. Earlier, capitalism was so strong that it could stifle the workers' movement and the national liberation movement in peaceful times. During the world wars they brought upon themselves, the imperialists, however, were not strong enough to hold back liberation movements, for they were weakened by their mutual strife.

Today, they are unable to stifle the liberation movement in times of peace too. This is clearly evidenced by the fact that right under the nose of the biggest imperialist power the brave people of tiny Cuba have not only won their independence but have also taken the socialist path.

The growing might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is causing the further weakening of capitalism. The prime reason for the emergence of the third stage in capitalism's general crisis is that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive force in world development. But there are internal in addition to external reasons for the aggravation of the general crisis.

MONOPOLIES ARE THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE. A new scientific and technological revolution is today taking place in the world due, chiefly, to the application of nuclear energy, space exploration, the chemical development, the automation of production, radio engineering and cybernetics. Capitalism's relations of production, however, are too restricted for this revolution. They prevent the economy from developing according to a single plan with due account for the needs of modern science. They give little room for the application of the wonderful scientific inventions and stand in the way of their use in the interests of the working people.

A few years ago, an American industrialist was showing a trade union official round his new car factory. Stopping at a fully automated shop, the tycoon said with a grin: "I'd like to know how you are going to collect your union dues from them." Back came the answer: "And I'd like to know how you're going to sell your automobiles to them."

This conversation puts in a nutshell the utter inability of capitalism to cope with the scientific and technological revolution. The capitalists can automate individual undertakings and even branches of industry, but if they want to plan automation of industry as a whole and introduce science in all branches of production, they have to give simultaneously a guarantee that wages will rise and hours will be cut, that

is, they must harness production to the interests of the workers. Capitalists cannot do this without putting an end to themselves as capitalists.

Even a limited application of the latest scientific and technical achievements brings on a market congestion. Hence, on the one hand, the slow rate of development, and on the other, the fiercer struggle by the capitalist monopolies for markets and the growing antagonisms among the imperialist powers.

The ruling circles in the imperialist states, besides whipping together aggressive military blocs for combating the socialist countries and the revolutionary movement, endeavour to supplement them by economic groupings. The monopolists of every country calculate to resolve their problems (especially the market problem) at the expense of their associates.

The Common Market countries—France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg—now exchange tariff-free goods and have drawn up plans for specialisation and co-ordination of production. At first, this resulted in a certain economic recovery but it could not last long. After all, the market of the imperialist countries does not expand merely by calling it “common”. Within the Common Market, the biggest monopolies in West Germany have a chance to get their hands on the key positions in the West European economy.

In their search for a way out of their economic difficulties the capitalist monopolies steer their economy towards *militarisation*. This is vivid proof of the reactionary role of state-monopoly capitalism. The governments in the pay of the monopolies earmark vast sums for the pursuance of the cold war. These sums find their way into the coffers of the monopolies. The cold war machine and the arms race penetrate everywhere complicating the situation and serving to aggravate the ailing capitalist economy.

The arms race causes the workers great hardships. It is financed out of the state budget. And from where does the money come to finance the bourgeois budget? Chiefly, from income taxes. As a result, taxation has grown to an unprecedented level because of the arms race.

The monopolies not only make an assault on the vital interests of the workers and peasants. They also encroach on

the interests of the small proprietors and even part of the middle bourgeoisie who are not viable enough to withstand their powerful competitors. In this way the state runs counter to the whole people. And the government under the monopolists' command gradually loses support even among those social groups on which it once relied.

The narrower the social base for the bourgeois government, and the fiercer the people's struggle against monopoly rule, the more frequently the imperialist governments resort to cruel repressions.

First to feel repressions are the Communists: thousands are sent to prison and dozens of Communist Parties are forced to go underground. Walking in the shadow of Hitler, the Adenauer Government slapped a ban on the West German Communist Party in 1957. In the U.S.A. a series of anti-democratic laws have been passed to restrict the rights of American Communists.

Anti-communism is one of the most obvious testimonies to the growing *crisis in bourgeois ideology*.

WITHOUT IDEALS. Over a great number of years, the ideologists of the American bourgeoisie prided themselves on the freedom of thought prevailing in the country. Yet Mark Twain once remarked that "...in our country we have those three unspeakably precious things: freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and the prudence never to practise either of them". Now they are trying to put a gag on Marxism in the U.S.A. Why? Because the imperialists are as frightened of revolutionary philosophy as they are of fire; because they have no ideas to oppose to the ideas of Marxism.

When the bourgeoisie came to power, they attracted the people with their slogans about liberty, equality and fraternity. These slogans adorn their constitutions to this day. But the workers now know what they are worth—the freedom of the capitalists to exploit the workers, the freedom of the fascists to murder people in gas chambers, the freedom of the press lords to whip up a war hysteria. And the "freedom" of the workers to break their backs, the "freedom" of the Communists to languish behind bars, the "freedom" of peace fighters to be beaten by police truncheons.

What equality can there be between the sated and the hungry? Multimillionaire Mellon scatters a million dollars on a single evening ball. And thousands of families of the



A Negro Is Tried by Lynch Law
From a drawing by B. Prorokov

unemployed have to go hungry.

Can anyone seriously talk about brotherhood when Negroes are shot in the American South, when racial discrimination goes unpunished in Britain and when Algerians are still treated as second-class citizens in France. Today, the bourgeoisie have trampled on the ideals which they once held aloft. More and more people are realising that only the socialist system can bring genuine liberty, equality and fraternity.

The crisis in bourgeois ideology is also evidenced by the decadence of culture. A stream of second-rate works glorifying cruelty and violence, advocating licentiousness and giving vent to animal instincts can be found in the bookshops, the theatre, the cinema and on television screen. The last word in art is said to be an outlandish conglomeration of lines and spots claiming to reveal the innermost secrets of the human mind. In the field of music, melody and harmony give way to a wild cacophony of sound. Sculpture seems to be dominated by monstrous creations which repel rather than delight.

When talking of the decadence of bourgeois culture, it would be a mistake not to mention the many honest artists in capitalist countries who sincerely strive to secure the triumph of justice and good. But, by and large, their work cannot be considered part of bourgeois culture. The logic of life drives many honest artists to expose the vices of the capitalist system, to search for a way out of the impasse into which decaying capitalism is dragging people. It is perhaps significant that some of the outstanding artists and scientists have recognised the greatness of communist ideas, people like Romain Rolland, Theodore Dreiser, Bernard Shaw, Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Joliot-Curie, Paul Langevin, and many others. It is significant too that the eminent French poet

Aragon, the Chilean poet Pablo Neruda and the greatest living painter Pablo Picasso are Communists. Progressive intellectuals break with capitalism and are devoting their talents to the struggle for the victory of communism.

THE WORKERS' REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

RISING INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES.

As capitalism's troubles mount, the class struggle of the workers gains in strength and increases in scope.

The wave of strikes is spreading throughout the capitalist world, reaching a peak now in one, now in another country. Strikes and other working-class actions attest to the growing resoluteness of the workers to fight for their interests.

It is above all worth noting that in the vast majority of recent strikes, the strikers have advanced political as well as economic demands. In Japan, the workers and farmers fight to prevent their islands from being turned into an American nuclear polygon. In France, the working people, headed by the French industrial workers, have more than once foiled the plans of the ultras in their attempts to seize power. In Britain and the U.S.A. the marches for peace and civil rights, the campaigns against rapacious landlords, are well known and an inspiration to all.

The economic and political campaigns of the workers and other groups are a barometer showing the rise in organisation and political consciousness of the working people. This is where the Communist Parties have a decisive role to play in organising and directing the popular struggle, in tirelessly exposing the criminal policies of the imperialist ruling circles, and uniting all the progressive forces in the battle for peace, democracy and socialism.

This explains the unprecedented growth in the communist movement. Marxist-Leninist Parties now function in some 90 countries and have a membership of more than 42 million. Over five million Communists live and fight in the capitalist countries.

Persecution of Communist Parties and anti-communist propaganda create exceptionally difficult conditions for communist activity and, naturally, hamper their advance. Suffice it to say that many Communist Parties are forced to work

semi-illegally or underground. Nevertheless, many Communist Parties plan to become mass parties in the coming years.

The communist successes should not only be judged numerically, but also by the increasing prestige Communists have among the people, as in the trade unions, for example. In the political field, their growing influence can be judged by the greater number of votes they receive in elections.

What do the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries regard as their cardinal tasks?

IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY. The ultimate purpose of their struggle has always been the revolutionary transformation of capitalist into socialist society and the building of communism. This aim determines the strategy and tactics of the present-day communist movement.

The socialist revolution is not a mutiny or coup d'état, but a law-governed social process prepared by capitalism's development, by the aggravation of all its contradictions. Revolutions are not made to order. They are only carried through when all the necessary conditions have matured, in particular, when the workers are well organised and fully aware of the political situation, when they are eager for revolutionary action, when they are resolved to lead the rest of the people in an assault on capitalism. Hence the uselessness of artificially pushing developments, of unwarranted running ahead of events and the consequent danger of becoming divorced from the people, the danger of the militant vanguard being cut off from its revolutionary army. This type of adventurism in politics is worthy only of anarchists and has nothing at all in common with Marxist-Leninist theory.

This does not mean, however, that the workers' revolutionary vanguard should be content with passively waiting for things to take their own course. On the contrary. Communists have the essential job of uniting the working people, improving their organisation and political consciousness and disseminating communist ideas. These tasks can be successfully resolved in the fight for democracy, for national independence, for the preservation and extension of civil rights and liberties, against militarisation of the economy, fascism and war. *The fight for democracy, therefore, is an integral part of the struggle for socialism.*

Today, the chief enemy of democracy in the capitalist world

is the all-powerful monopolies to which the interests of most nations are opposed. Hence the possibility for common action on the part of wide sections of the population against the reactionary home and foreign policies of the monopolies. The Communist Parties are active champions of the unity of the progressive forces in *an anti-monopoly front*.

The need for common action is self-evident. The imperialist bourgeois turn their guns not only on the Communists, but on those who, in one way or another, take part in the defence of democracy and peace. Many thousands of Americans were subjected to interrogation before commissions set up by Congress for investigating "un-American activities". Once their names had been tied up with these commissions, many honest Americans were blacklisted, deprived of work and kept under police supervision. The Federal Bureau of Investigation keeps fingerprints of virtually half the adult American population.

Because they play a leading part in the democratic movement, the workers are strong enough to avert the threat of fascism and ensure that steps are taken which exceed the bounds of the usual bourgeois-democratic reforms and make conditions easier for the triumph of the socialist revolution. From this prospect the Communist and Workers' Parties infer their conclusions on the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism at the present time, of turning parliament from a weapon serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into one serving the working people. This, however, is only feasible through the widespread and constant development of the class struggle, through a combination of parliamentary forms of struggle and extra-parliamentary mass action. The workers must be in a position to baulk all the attempts of the bourgeoisie to carry through a counter-revolutionary coup.

In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against the people, a non-peaceful transition to socialism becomes inevitable.

While creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory and elaborating the strategy and tactics of the world communist movement at each stage of historical development, the Marxist-Leninist Parties conduct a resolute struggle against the revisionists and dogmatists, the Right- and the Left-wing opportunists. Right-wing opportunism is a trend in the communist movement which on some issues diverges from

PEACE WILL CONQUER WAR

THE STAIN ON THE CONSCIENCE OF CAPITALISTS.

Some three million people were killed in all the wars of the 17th century, some 5.5 million in those of the 18th century and 16 million in the 19th century. In the 20th century, victims in the First World War numbered 10 million, and in the Second World War, 50 million.

In the 17th century the main instruments of war were hand weapons. In the two subsequent centuries artillery became the "war god". In the two world wars, this god gave way to an Unholy Trinity of artillery, tanks and aircraft. Today, these have been joined by the most destructive weapon of all time—nuclear weapons. Meanwhile, military skills and techniques continue to develop. Albert Einstein was once asked what weapons would be used in a third world war. He replied: In the third I don't know, but in the fourth, the bow and arrow.

War must not be allowed to break out—this is now understood by every sensible person aware of the destructive power of modern war techniques. The first atom bomb had an explosive force equivalent to 20,000 tons of TNT. A modern hydrogen bomb has an explosive force with an equivalent of 100 million tons of TNT. In addition to this, we have to think of the fatal effects of radiation. One of the most wonderful scientific discoveries, presenting mankind with an ocean of free energy, threatens to turn into a source of destruction and death. And the blame for this lies squarely on the shoulders of the inhuman capitalist system.

In August 1945, literally within days of Japan's coming capitulation, U.S. President Truman gave the order to drop atom bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As a result of the explosions, almost 200,000 people perished immediately or died later from fall-out sickness. All that remained of Hiroshima were ashes. Mankind will never forget that black day in its history.

Why, despite the lack of military need, did the ruling circles in the U.S.A. use the atom bomb? For the simple reason that they had to "flex their muscles", because they counted on terrorising their ally, the Soviet Union, and subjecting the whole world to their will. Whilst they had a monopoly of nuclear weapons, the American imperialists conducted a policy

of atomic blackmail. The "wildmen" of the Pentagon elaborated plans for dropping atomic bombs on the main Soviet industrial centres. They were ready to murder millions of Soviet people in order to do away with the socialist system, the blight of their lives.

In this situation, the U.S.S.R. was obliged to create its own nuclear weapons in order to safeguard the Soviet people's socialist gains and the country's independence. Soviet scientists performed miracles in extricating the country from such a vulnerable position. At last, the monopoly hold of the U.S. was broken, causing a tremendous blow to the aggressive plans of the American generals. In the United States, they concentrated on stepping up the preparation of hydrogen bombs, a hundred times more lethal than atom bombs. But, once again, their plans came unstuck. The Soviet Union got in first, in 1953, with the manufacture of the first hydrogen bomb.

Even after this, the U.S. military circles did not ease up. Bombs, they said, are just the beginning. The main thing is a fleet of bombers and military bases near the Soviet border. The U.S. can then make a strike without fear of retaliation.

Those were the strategic conceptions, monstrous in their cold-blooded calculations. Even if the U.S.A. had been able to avoid being on the receiving end of an atomic strike, their allies in Europe and Asia, the location of American war bases, would have been in line for retaliation. Furthermore,



No to War!

Poster by A. Aslyan

consistently revolutionary positions and makes concessions to bourgeois ideology and not infrequently stoops to reformism, i.e., to agreement with the workers' class enemy. Left-wing opportunism is an expression of ultra-revolutionariness, and displays scorn for any creative work, insisting exclusively on armed struggle. Although at first glance, both these types of opportunism seem to be diametrically opposed to each other, they actually unite in their opposition to Marxism, and they both stem from the same petty-bourgeois source.

At various stages of development, either one of these trends can become a major danger to the world communist movement. Several years ago the Marxist-Leninist Parties defeated revisionism ideologically. Latterly it is Left-wing opportunism that is causing the biggest danger. One of the most important tasks of the fraternal parties is to keep up a consistent fight against this danger and unite the communist movement on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

After carefully considering the international situation and the concrete conditions in their country's development, each Communist Party formulates in its programme the immediate and the long-term aims of its struggle, and incorporates the possible terms of their attainment. Naturally enough, due to the different conditions prevailing in each country, all programmes will not coincide on all points. But there is one point of paramount importance on which all agree—that is to attain unity within the labour movement.

WORKING-CLASS UNITY. Not all workers follow the Communists. In fact, in some capitalist countries, the Socialist Parties have a considerable hold over the workers. Many vote Socialist or Labour, and these Parties often play an important part within parliament or, with the agreement of the bourgeoisie, even form the government in some countries.

The Socialist leaders, known generally as Right-wing Socialists, follow in the footsteps of the opportunist leaders of the Second International, who have counterpoised their reformist theories to Marxism. At best all these theories envisage certain reforms as long as they do not encroach upon the real basis of capitalism—private ownership and exploitation of hired labour.

Once in power, the Right-wing socialists would appear to have every opportunity to implement their plans of reformist "transformation" of capitalism into socialism. But their

activity is merely another confirmation of the insolvency of reformism. The Right-wing Socialists have not been able to attain any kind of socialism. They have not moved an inch towards this goal.

The workers have convincing proof of the correctness of the Communists when they compare the reformist and revolutionary paths to socialism. The influence of the Social-Democratic Parties is falling away, their ideology is undergoing a crisis. The Left-wing forces of Social Democracy are at present searching for new prospects. The more farsighted among the Social-Democratic leaders are beginning to realise that these prospects can only be attained through a closer alliance with the Communists. Of course, this rapprochement does not come smoothly, without a struggle. The Right-wing leaders are stubbornly sticking to the bankrupt dogmas of reformism and just as pigheadedly refusing all proposals of the Communists for concerted action.

Meanwhile, experience shows that wherever Communists and Socialists manage to elaborate a common programme of action, the labour movement gains resounding successes.

Undoubtedly, capitalism has only existed up to now chiefly because of the split in the workers' ranks. The growing unity in the labour movement hastens the victory of the socialist revolution and brings nearer the end of capitalism.

Now we shall attempt to bring some coherence to the present international situation. Two social systems exist and are at loggerheads in the world. They are developing in different directions. The world socialist system has now entered a new stage of its development in which all the advantages of the new system will be fully demonstrated. The U.S.S.R. is engaged on a twenty-year programme for building communism. The People's Democracies are finishing off socialist construction and are about to commence the full-scale building of communism. And the world capitalist system has entered a new stage of its general crisis, in which it is heading for its doom at an ever-increasing rate.

When we compare these two lines, the two trends in development we have every ground to assert that *the competition between the two systems, the two divergent worlds, has now entered a new stage, the stage of the triumph of socialism.*

The question of war and peace has now become the *crucial issue of the day.*

even non-specialists knew perfectly well that nuclear war would have been particularly disastrous to densely populated countries with a relatively small territory. And the experts estimated that just a few H-bombs could wipe such countries as Britain, France and West Germany off the face of the earth.

In spite of this, the trans-Atlantic militarists still screamed for aggression against the socialist countries. Why should they care about the danger to other nations of Europe and Asia? Their only concern was super-profits.

But their strategy again came to grief. The Soviet Union began to manufacture intercontinental ballistic missiles and global rockets capable of hitting any target in the world with absolute accuracy. Today, no matter how many oceans they are away, all aggressors run the risk of committing suicide.

PEACE IS IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLES. Now it is the socialist world which has the upper hand in the military sphere. But, by their very nature, the socialist countries abhor the "position of strength" policy. Despite its clear supremacy in military technique, the Soviet Union persistently fights for an end to the arms race and guarantees for a stable peace. The Soviet Government put forward a plan for general disarmament envisaging the abolition of all reserves of nuclear bombs and conventional arms, and the demobilisation of all armed forces.

The imperialist governments, however, who in public swear to their love of peace, continue the arms race. The insidious policy of the imperialists has more than once brought mankind to the verge of war, as in the case of Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists have demonstrated, by their barbarous actions, that world public opinion must be constantly on the alert. That is the question which today agitates hundreds of millions of people all over the world.

Can world war be averted? By its very nature, imperialism engenders wars. This has been confirmed by the whole course of historical development. Imperialism's nature has not changed today. Consequently, as long as it exists, the danger of war will remain.

The forces of peace are primarily represented by the Soviet Union and the entire world socialist system, which is capable of delivering a crushing blow to any imperialist

aggressor. The socialist countries have become the rallying point for all the other peace-loving forces.

Taking their stand on the side of peace are a large number of non-socialist states who have nothing to gain from war. Together with the socialist countries, they form an extensive peace zone.

The workers of the world demand peace and direct the struggle of wide sections of the people to stay the hand of the imperialists.

The C.P.S.U. Programme is quite explicit in its conclusions.

"It is possible to avert a world war by the combined efforts of the mighty socialist camp, the peace-loving non-socialist countries, the international working class and all the forces championing peace. The growing superiority of the socialist forces over imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, will make it actually possible to banish world war from the life of society even before the complete victory of socialism on earth, with capitalism extant in a part of the world. The victory of socialism throughout the world will do away completely with the social and national causes of all wars. To abolish war and establish ever-lasting peace on earth is the historic mission of communism."

The settlement of outstanding issues between states by peaceful means is actually the policy of peaceful coexistence in action. It is a policy which corresponds to the interests of the vast majority of mankind and therefore is taking the upper hand over the aggressive policy of the cold war.

An appreciation of the disastrous consequences of nuclear war is forcing politicians in the imperialist world to take a realistic stand. One result of this realistic approach was the conclusion of the Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty. The overwhelming majority of states signed it and the world public regarded it as the first important step towards disarmament and relaxation of international tension. Further significant steps for peace have been made by the agreement not to orbit in space objects carrying nuclear weapons, the agreement to reduce the manufacture of fissionable materials, and the agreement on establishing a direct telephone link between the Soviet and U.S. heads of government.

All these measures do not shield mankind from the menace of a thermonuclear conflict. But they do help to move

away from the dangerous brink of war, and they demonstrate that if people step up their battle for peace they can make the most aggressive and irresponsible imperialist circles give way.

As long as there is a danger of war, there must be a keen watch kept on all the machinations of the enemies of peace. And every honest person must consider it his sacred duty to do everything he can to prevent a thermonuclear war from breaking out.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND CLASS STRUGGLE. In the fight for peace, the Soviet Union consistently implements its policy of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems.

Peaceful coexistence signifies a rejection of war as a means of settling international disputes, but not a rejection of the class struggle. The dispute about the supremacy of one social system over the other is being resolved by peaceful economic competition between them. War need not come into it. Economic competition can continue without any meddling in the internal affairs of other nations.

Or take the ideological battle. Peaceful coexistence cannot stop the battle of ideas, the tussle between the communist and bourgeois ideologies. Marxist-Leninist ideas have spread throughout the world because they express the vital interests of the working people. They contain the truth of life, and there is no getting away from the truth. It is patently apparent that the ideological battle by itself does not lead to armed conflicts. It is quite compatible with peaceful coexistence between the two systems. Naturally, there must be no attempt to impose alien ideas on any nation by force or by threats, as is often done by the imperialists.

Experience shows that there is no reason why political and other differences between the socialist and capitalist states cannot be settled by peaceful negotiation, on the basis of mutual concessions and compromise, without infringing on the vital ideological principles of either side.

The assertion is sometimes made that peaceful coexistence compromises the people conducting a revolutionary struggle for their national and social liberation. Is there no contradiction here if the liberation fighters rise up in armed battle against their oppressors? There is not. Peaceful coexistence by no means implies a conciliation of the interests of the

oppressed to those of the colonialists, of the exploited to the exploiters. Every nation has a sacred right to battle against all oppression, and if the reactionary classes put up armed resistance, that nation has every right to take up arms too.

Peaceful coexistence does not mean the perpetuation of the capitalist system where it exists today. Once they see with their own eyes and are convinced of the advantages of the socialist system, the people living under capitalism will choose the most progressive social system. And nobody will force them into this choice.

CONCLUSION

We no longer have to make hazy guesses as to what exactly communist society will be, since the new Soviet Party Programme is no architect's dream, but an operative plan for building communism, now being put into effect by the Soviet people. Of course, it is still too early to talk about every detail of the construction work. Certain individual questions can only be tackled when they come to them. Their solution will be indicated as the construction work advances. But the most essential features are quite clear-cut.

Communism is establishing eternal

peace

For the very first time in their long and often arduous history, people will be able to breathe freely. No one and nothing will be able to threaten their prosperity. Once and for all they will put an end to the senseless waste of human energy on weapons of destruction. Thousands of undertakings all over the world, now turning out weapons of death, will go over to manufacturing the consumer goods people need. Instead of bombers and fighters, they will produce fast-flying passenger aircraft and high-powered transport planes. Instead of ballistic missiles, they will concentrate on space-ships. Instead of tanks they will turn out tractors. Instead of guns and shells, they will make refrigerators and vacuum cleaners.

And what fabulous prospects are presented to science! A large number of scientific establishments and scientists, at present working on new types of armaments and defence from them, will be able to turn their talents to the search for new types of energy and materials, to the construction of machinery for lightening human labour and beautifying our surroundings, to the fight against disease and to increase longevity.

The word "war" will remain merely to define such humane concepts as war on disease and senility, war on drought and barren soil, war on natural calamities.

Prosperous, omnipotent mankind will set out on a conquest of other worlds, not to coerce the people of other planets into accepting our way of life (and we have no doubt that, sooner or later, there will be encounters with our "celestial neighbours"), but to learn more about outer space and to spread civilisation.

In *War of the Worlds* by H. G. Wells, Martians who land on the earth set out to destroy all life so as to gain control of our planet. Only the intervention of microbes saves mankind from extinction. That is approximately how future space encounters are portrayed in sci-fic stories by many American authors. Some of them show earthmen making a conquest of Venus and setting up a regime of what amounts to colonialism there. Others picture fierce battles in outer space for "spheres of influence".

No, the meeting of the worlds will not be like that. The Soviet sci-fic writer Ivan Yefremov wrote in one of his novels: "Only exceptionally intelligent beings who have stormed the heights of science, will be able to organise interplanetary flights and pay visits to our neighbours. But such a development of science and technology, such a flight of fancy, will only be possible in a society which is arranged on just, reasonable principles. The envoys of the earth (and this applies to people of other planets) will not be capable of pursuing evil and cruel ends or sowing violence, destruction and death. They will have a single aim in mind: a union between thinking beings, co-operation in the conquest of nature and in the exaltation of Reason and Work."

Let us come down from the cosmos to earth for a minute. There still is a fantastic amount of work ahead. Paraphrasing the words of Mayakovsky, our planet must be "fitted out for happiness". The only way to bring that about is through

labour

which, under communism, will become the chief concern of the life of the community and will provide every citizen with a *raison d'être*.

By organised effort, society will attain *gigantic development of the forces of production thus ensuring an abundance of all the necessary products for life*. Under communism, Marx once said, all the springs of co-operative wealth will flow more abundantly. The C.P.S.U. Programme does not simply reiterate these words but gives a precise yardstick by which social wealth can be measured. Wealth is expressed in thousand millions of kilowatt-hours of electricity, in hundreds of millions of tons of oil, coal, steel, cement, grain, meat, milk and other products.

In future, the springs of wealth will flow at an ever-increasing rate thanks to the integration of science with production. Science today has become a great productive force, yet the values which it brings us are nothing to what it will bring mankind in the years to come. Even without consideration for the long-term prospects, science now stands on the threshold of discoveries which will effect nothing short of a revolution in the production of material wealth.

Perhaps the most important of these discoveries is the ability to control thermonuclear reactions, which will provide us with practically unlimited supplies of energy. It is not hard to imagine what significance attaches to a directed growth of plants and living organisms; or to control the weather, so putting an end to crop failures; or artificially to manufacture albumen and other materials.

An exceedingly high productivity of social labour will boost the forces of production. This will be achieved through the promotion of science and technology, and a rise in the scientific and technical and cultural knowledge of the workers.

Being the source of well-being and delight, *labour will become a prime necessity for everyone under communism*.

A person may work well for various reasons. Perhaps, because he has his eye on earning a rich reward for his work. Perhaps, because he is aware of his duty to the community. Perhaps, because he is engrossed in his work and sees it as a means of uncovering his creative talents. Perhaps, because his work has become a habit, as natural as the need to breathe or associate with other people.

Put all these together and you have communist labour.

But someone may object: "Agreed on all points except the material incentive. Surely Lenin called communist labour

payment-free work for the common good. How can there be any talk of material remuneration?

Of course, a communist citizen will not even think of demanding that he be repaid for his work with something which other citizens are unable to get. Take an orchestra or choir. If they are made up of real artists who love music, it is hardly likely that someone will let his violin bow stay idle, blow out his cheeks without making a noise, play or sing half-heartedly, just because the pay is not enough. He will work for nothing and will not measure his labour in money, which will not exist anyway, or in any other material values. Yet at the same time, he is interested in the growth of social wealth. This interest is far from being egoistic. He is thinking of the whole of community, not of himself alone. One of the incentives under communism will therefore be collective material interest in boosting social wealth, in constantly improving everyone's standard of living.

If we were to confine ourselves to defining the communist citizen's distinction as a need for labour alone, we should be only half right. It is not only his need for work but work according to his capabilities, which is his outstanding feature. Thanks to this, communal wealth will continually rise and the community will be able to fully satisfy the reasonable requirements of all its members.

The implementation of the cardinal principle of communism "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will imply that society has established full social

equality

Let us examine to what extent the principle of satisfaction according to needs accords with the idea of equality.

Under socialism, people receive equal remuneration for equal work. Here lies the justness of the socialist principle of distribution.

But people have different capabilities, various sizes of family, and therefore some of them earn more and live better than others.

The introduction of the communist principle of distribution removes this discrepancy and to a certain extent overcomes

the injustice of nature, which imparts diverse talents to people in relation to labour and creative endeavour.

From the point of view of formal rights, this is a violation of equality in the sense that communist society fully satisfies everyone irrespective of the quality and quantity of his or her work. Formal rights, however, are no longer good enough for communism and fall by the wayside, thus affirming supreme justice and the genuine humane ideal of equality: let each give the community all he can and the community will generously satisfy everyone's reasonable requirements.

Communist equality also entails the *obliteration of the socio-economic, welfare and cultural distinctions between town and country*. Farm work becomes a variety of industrial work. There will therefore be no greater difference between work in agriculture and industry than there is today between work in various branches of industry. In both agriculture and industry, favourable conditions will be created for *the integration of mental and manual labour*.

All remnants of inequality in the social status of women will also be finally eliminated. Household chores will be largely taken care of (cooking, laundering, sewing, etc.) and the infant care service will ease the burden of looking after children.

Finally, communism will see an end put to the inequality of the sexes based on women being less suited to do heavy manual work. With mechanisation and automation, there will be less and less heavy manual work to do. At present, the Soviet state has barred the way to women into certain professions that might endanger their health. The list of these professions is diminishing and it will not be long before women will be able to work in any job whatsoever on an equal basis with men. When we are talking of work, it is hardly appropriate or correct to use such antiquated expressions as the "weaker" and "stronger" sex. Equipped with knowledge and in control of the powerful technology of communism, the former "weaker" sex will not lag behind the former "stronger" sex in any way.

The shaping of a single communist ownership of the means of production and the obliteration of class distinctions will lead to the creation of a *classless society*. This is the ultimate ideal of equality beyond which any talk of equality is

meaningless. People will always differ in capabilities and tastes. Justness is not a matter of trying to equalise them out, but to create the best conditions for living and work for each individual and for the people as a whole. That is why the formation of a classless society is a conceivable boundary on equality at which the very word "equality", like the word "peace", will lose its present meaning and gradually fall into disuse.

Hand in hand with equality goes

freedom

because only free people can be equal and only equal people free.

The socialist revolution liberates the working people from exploitation. All subsequent development of society is directed towards creating conditions whereby *each person can freely develop and apply his creative talents*. This is the essence of the communist ideal of freedom.

Socialism has wholly borne out Lenin's words that popular talents are an untapped spring. Today, we may boldly declare that this spring has broken through to the surface, has spilled over and is bringing an astonishingly beautiful life. But a real flourishing of popular talents is yet to come. The spring of talents under communism will become a river in full flow because the richer life is and the higher the level of education, the greater are the opportunities for creativity to flower in all branches of human activity, and the more fully and more comprehensively people will display their talents.

Once *the old division of labour*, which very much encumbered people, *has been eliminated*, communism will present particularly propitious conditions for free creative endeavour. Under capitalism, the workingman is tied all his life to one and the same operation, often not even knowing where the finished part goes. The monotony and repetition of the same old motions day in day out drains a person's energy and stultifies his mind.

In socialist production, the workingman appreciates the social significance of his work. Behind the part he has turned out he sees machines which help the farmers grow a rich harvest or the builders put up new blocks of flats. This

awareness inspires work, encourages the worker to think about how to do his job quicker and better. Moreover, the workingman under socialism is not tied to one and the same operation. He has every chance to improve himself, accumulate knowledge and skill, thus permitting him to move up to other, more complex work.

Under communism, the negative aspects of the old division of labour will be ended once and for all. All monotonous jobs will be done by machines and man will be left with the creation, regulation and control of the machines. Thus, all work will be creative. All-round education and cultural outlook will permit people to live not merely for the sake of their chosen profession but also to develop and apply their other talents. In other words, the communist citizen will *harmoniously combine spiritual wealth, moral purity and a perfect physique.*

People will live much longer (scientists have mentioned 150 years, and the most optimistic put the target at 200) thanks to the exceptionally favourable material and spiritual living conditions, the achievements of biology, medicine and other sciences.

The community will also gain from greater longevity. Today, a person may study from ten to twenty years, leaving only 25-40 years for work and creative endeavour. At the most mature stage, when experience and knowledge are at a premium, physical energies begin to decline. How many wonderful plans remain unrealised! How many innumerable, mind-created values we lose because nature has been so miserly in setting the limits on human life! It is, therefore, not hard to appreciate how much social progress will be accelerated once centenarians will still be in the prime of life.

Even from this fleeting glimpse at the prospects for each individual's harmonious development, we begin to appreciate the magnificence of the freedom affirmed by communism. Under capitalism, the working people dream of freedom from poverty, exploitation and injustice. Socialism has brought this freedom and now the people living under socialism are, with their own hands, building a society in which freedom will reach its summit, being embodied in the flourishing of the human personality.

Everyone's participation in communist social administration is also one of the integral parts of the free development

of the personality. Communism presupposes the transformation of work into a prime vital requirement. The same applies to social activity.

The participation of everyone in administration and a higher level of discipline will ensure the harmonious co-ordination of work, precision and clarity of purpose of every organisation running the community's affairs. Tied up with this is the question of the moral understanding of freedom.

Freedom of the community is by no means the equivalent of freedom from the community. Individual freedom by no means implies doing what you please. A genuinely free will only exists when a person's thoughts and actions coincide with the collective's thoughts and actions. When individual interest and collective interest merge in people's minds, *individuals will only regard freedom as the opportunity to act for the good of the community*. It is this understanding of freedom which is held by the builders of communism today. It will ultimately triumph in communist society.

Wherever there are equality and freedom, there is bound to be

fraternity

of all citizens and of all nationalities.

When we speak of brotherly relations, we want to underline that they are not merely comradely, not merely amicable, but somehow more exalted and refined relations between people.

The most general expression of these relations is *collectivism*, people's co-operation and mutual assistance. Under socialism, too, collectivism is the essence of social relations. It could not be otherwise, since common ownership of the means of production inevitably fosters a collective spirit. As communism is being built, collectivism is all the while developing, gaining a new content and acquiring forms which were previously unknown.

There is the trust which binds all honest people together and there is the mutual trust between all those working for the same ends. It needs no elaboration to say how much more significant the latter is from the moral point of view. In a

collective, people always depend on each other, and common achievements often depend on the efforts of every person in that collective. One of the highest forms of praise has long been "you can count on so-and-so to see the job through". This high degree of trust today exists at undertakings of communist labour where the collective entrusts its honour, the honour of the factory, in each worker, where they work to their conscience without technical supervision.

Communism cannot be reached in isolation. It can only be built by joint effort. So those who advance, consider it their prime duty to help those who, for some reason or other, lag behind. That is how the more advanced Soviet citizens and entire collectives go about things when offering assistance to those in the rear.

The Soviet people's collective spirit, developed in them by the Communist Party, is amply manifested in their eagerness to share their attainments with the people in other socialist countries and in their selfless assistance to Asian, African and Latin American countries who have started out or are just starting out on the path to independent development. Soviet people—engineers and workers at India's Bhilai Iron and Steel Works, builders of the Aswan Dam in the United Arab Republic, construction workers in Afghanistan, geologists in Indonesia, doctors in Iraq, etc.—are always and everywhere true to the cause of collectivism, and give their energy and knowledge for the aims of progress and friendship among nations.

When socialism and communism will be established throughout the world, everyone's most cherished dreams and aspirations will be realised. As Robert Burns once wrote with such fervid faith:

*For a' that, an' a' that—
It's comin' yet for a' that,
That man to man the world o'er
Shall brithers be for a' that.*

National distinctions will gradually wear away and all that will remain to remind us of the past will be our names. United in one family, mankind will reach the peak of its power and will put into action the most breathtaking plans for mastering nature.

The creative endeavour of free and equal brothers living under eternally peaceful conditions is the

happiness

which communism brings to everyone.

It would probably be difficult to find two people anywhere in the world to agree on what they understand by happiness.

After all, no one can issue guaranteed tickets to happiness. Human happiness is very diverse. Apparently, nobody will ever succeed in ridding our lives of such age-old causes of spiritual suffering and conflict as dissatisfaction with the results of one's work, frustrated hopes, jealousy and unrequited love. In other words, there should remain sufficient work for the engineers of the human souls—the writers. Life will always provide material not only for variety, shows and comedies, but also for dramas and tragedies. The pointed weapon of satire will not grow rusty either as long as mankind advances. It will help people conquer the failings.

Mankind will always advance, and surely nothing can give people greater satisfaction than the knowledge that they are taking part in this movement, that they are keeping in step with the times. That is why Soviet people may well envy the coming generation in all manner of things but not in the most important—the feeling of happiness.

Poets have likened happiness to a bluebird, slipping away from us just as we go to catch it. Today, Soviet people are holding on tightly to this bluebird. It can be found in their peaceful creative endeavour, their lofty aims, in their strivings to bring everyone happiness as quickly as possible, thereby opening up new opportunities for all to enjoy life to the full.

